Class 225.96Q Book R126
C.1
General Theological Seminary Library
CHELSEA SQUARE, NEW YORK
PRESENTED BY
Dr. Stewart

Bowyer Stewart
1909

The Church Universal

VOLUME I

THE CHURCH OF THE APOSTLES

THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL

BRIEF HISTORIES OF HER CONTINUOUS LIFE

Edited by

THE REV. W. H. HUTTON, B.D.

FELLOW OF S. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER

Volume 1. The Church of the Apostles.

The Rev. LONSDALE RAGG, B.D., Prebendary of Lincoln. *4s. 6d. net.*

Volume 2. 98–461. The Church of the Fathers.

The Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A., Fellow of S. John's College, and Lecturer in Theology at S. John's and Oriel Colleges. *5s. net.*

"We do not know of any other work on Church history in which so much learned and accurate instruction is condensed into a comparatively small space, but at the same time presented in the form of an interesting narrative. Alike the beginner and the advanced student will find Mr. Pullan a useful guide and companion."—*Church Times.*

Volume 3. 461–1003. The Church and the Barbarians.

The EDITOR. *3s. 6d. net.*

"In so accomplished hands as Mr. Hutton's the result is an instructive and suggestive survey of the course of the Church's development throughout five hundred years, and almost as many countries and peoples, in Constantinople as well as among Wends and Prussians, in Central Asia as well as the Western Isles."—*Review of Theology and Philosophy, U.S.A.*

Volume 4. 1003–1304. The Church and the Empire.

D. J. MEDLEY, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Glasgow. [*In preparation.*

Volume 5. 1304–1503. The Age of Schism.

HERBERT BRUCE, M.A., Professor of History in the University College, Cardiff. *3s. 6d. net.*

"We commend the book as being fair in its judicial criticism, a great point where so thorny a subject as the Great Schism and its issues are discussed. The art of reading the times, whether ancient or modern, has descended from Mr. W. H. Hutton to his pupil."—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

Volume 6. 1503–1648. The Reformation.

The Rev. J. P. WHITNEY, B.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London. *5s. net.*

"It is certainly a very full and excellent outline. There is scarcely a point in this momentous time in regard to which the student, and, indeed, the ordinary reader, will not find here very considerable help, as well as suggestive hints for further study."—*Church Union Gazette.*

Volume 7. 1648–1815. The Age of Revolution.

The EDITOR. *4s. 6d. net.*

"Mr. Hutton's past studies in Ecclesiastical History are sure to secure him a welcome in this new venture. There is a breadth of treatment, an accurate perspective, and a charitable spirit in all that he writes which makes him a worthy associate of Creighton and Stubbs in the great field of history."
Aberdeen Journal.

Volume 8. 1815–1900. The Church of Modern Days.

The Rev. LEIGHTON PULLAN, M.A. [*In preparation.*

LONDON: RIVINGTONS

THE CHURCH OF THE APOSTLES

BEING AN OUTLINE OF
THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH
OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE

GENERAL THEO. SEM.
LIBRARY
NEW YORK

BY

LONSDALE RAGG, B.D. Oxon.

PREBENDARY OF BUCKDEN IN LINCOLN CATHEDRAL
ENGLISH CHAPLAIN AT VENICE
SOMETIME WARDEN OF THE BISHOP'S HOSTEL, LINCOLN

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1909

225.96Q
R126
c.1

116139

NEW YORK
LIBRARY
GENERAL THEOL. SEM.

TO

MY FRIENDS IN VENICE

EDITORIAL NOTE

WHILE there is a general agreement among the writers as to principles, the greatest freedom as to treatment is allowed to writers in this series. The volumes, for example, are not of the same length. Volume II., which deals with the formative period of the Church, is, not unnaturally, longer in proportion than the others. To Volume VI., which deals with the Reformation, has been allotted a similar extension. The authors, again, use their own discretion in such matters as footnotes and lists of authorities. But the aim of the series, which each writer sets before him, is to tell, clearly and accurately, the story of the Church, as a divine institution with a continuous life.

W. H. HUTTON.

PREFACE

WITHOUT pretending to offer a last word of literary or historical criticism on a subject which is likely to remain always open to discussion, the author would like to hope that he has succeeded in producing a modest and straightforward study of the Apostolic Age, from the point of view of a not unenlightened conservatism.

In any case, we must all alike turn to St. Luke and his colleagues of the New Testament if we would seek information on the central facts of the Church's beginnings. We differ from one another according to the presuppositions with which we approach the subject; and according to these presuppositions varies the value we put upon the New Testament documents, and the fashion in which we attempt to supply the obvious and serious *lacunae* in the information which they furnish. The present writer does not claim to have approached the subject with a mind like a blank sheet of paper; yet he hopes to have achieved something of that higher impartiality which lives only in an atmosphere of deep convictions.

What little originality may be found in these pages will be due not so much to a wide acquaintance with the modern literature of the subject as to a fresh study of the familiar New Testament writings. The author has, however, availed himself of the manifold help

offered by Dr. Hastings' excellent Bible Dictionary, by several of the brilliant works of Sir William Ramsay, and by the recently issued English Edition of Harnack's *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*. Of other works, his deepest obligation is due to Mgr. Duchesne's *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise* for its lucid marshalling of facts, and to the old-fashioned but none the less valuable lectures of the late Professor Shirley on the Apostolic Age. A work which he would have used with profit had it not come into his hands too late is Dr. E. G. Hardy's *Studies in Roman History*, where the authorities for the attitude of official Rome towards Christianity are set forth with a remarkable skill, at once full and concise.

To the Editor of the Series and to the publisher, the writer of this volume desires to express his thanks for unfailing patience and courtesy; and to Mr. Rolfe for a very careful and painstaking revision of the proofs.

L. R.

VENICE,
Easter, 1909.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY. THE DOCUMENTS 1

CHAPTER I

THE PREPARATION 19

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST 38

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH IN PALESTINE 57

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH OF THE CIRCUMCISION 69

CHAPTER V

MISSIONS TO THE GENTILES 96

CHAPTER VI

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY—THE LEVANT 110

CHAPTER VII

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY—ASIA MINOR 122

CHAPTER VIII

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY—PROVINCE OF ASIA . . 141

CHAPTER IX

PAGE

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY—MACEDONIA AND ACHAIA . . 162

CHAPTER X

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY—ITALY AND THE WEST . . 180

CHAPTER XI

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY—ROME 193

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD 213

CHAPTER XIII

CHURCH ORGANISATION: THE MINISTRY . . . 229

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHURCH'S INNER LIFE 252

CHAPTER XV

THE LITERATURE OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH . . 273

CHAPTER XVI

HERETICS OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE. . . 299

CHAPTER XVII

RETROSPECT AND CONCLUSION 313

INDEX OF SCRIPTURE REFERENCES. . . . 321

GENERAL INDEX 330

THE CHURCH OF THE APOSTLES

INTRODUCTORY

THE DOCUMENTS

WITH the rehabilitation of St. Luke, which marks the latest tendency of the best criticism alike in England and in Germany, our central document for the history of the Apostolic Age has been restored—it would seem permanently—to its authoritative position. The recognition of the unity, authenticity and genuineness of the *Acts of the Apostles* is of extreme importance to the would-be historian of that period: though, after all, a surprising proportion of the history might be reconstructed from other of the New Testament writings. But the *Acts* (if genuine) supplies us, among much else that is of supreme value, with an outline or framework of the course of events between 29 and 62 A.D., for which, without it, we should be left to conjecture. It is a great satisfaction, therefore, to feel that we are treading on admittedly solid ground when we claim that the sacred historian is a contemporary, and largely an eye-witness, of the facts he records, a Gentile physician and an intimate companion of St. Paul, and the author also of the Third Gospel. Nor need we

The *Acts* a genuine work of St. Luke.

hesitate, on the basis of a careful and rigorous study of the internal characteristics of the document and its relation to the rest of our knowledge of the period, to claim for him further that he is an educated, intelligent and accurate observer, and a conscientious investigator. All this enables the interpreter of primitive Christianity to speak, henceforth, with the fuller confidence of one who knows that he is handling an original, trustworthy, and contemporary document.

The *Acts* and Josephus.

The historical discrepancies[1] between St. Luke and his younger contemporary Josephus, of which so much used to be made, are in matters irrelevant, or of trifling importance. They do serve, however, to disprove the contention—based on the identity of a few words and phrases—that the author of the Acts was really a later writer who used Josephus.[2] On the other hand the evidence of minute accuracy in the *Acts* in general is overwhelming. From the detailed and almost microscopic test of geography and archaeology to which the latter part of the book has been subjected by recent experts with Sir William Ramsay at their head, St. Luke has come out triumphant. Much must still be taken on faith, for archaeology is based on fragmentary and accidental

[1] The Theudas whom Josephus names belongs to a later period than that at which Gamaliel's speech is placed (*Ant.* XX. v. 1). In another place, however (*Ant.* XVII. x. 4), he speaks of 'ten thousand disorders' as having occurred in Judah, of which he specifies only a very few. The only important one is the naming of the insurgent Theudas in a speech put into the mouth of Gamaliel. After all, there were three such pretenders named Judas in the period and four named Simon: why should not two leaders of the "ten thousand disorders" have borne the name of Theudas?

[2] Josephus was still writing in 100 A.D.

survivals; but it seems as though, wherever one were in a position to test the sacred historian's work, it had proved itself accurate beyond all expectation. In Asia Minor, in Macedonia and Greece, in the Mediterranean, in Italy, St. Luke is equally at home.

The *Acts* and *Galatians*.

There remains the charge of disingenuousness. It is contended that a comparison with the first two chapters of the *Epistle to the Galatians* shows that the author of the *Acts* deliberately distorted the facts to suit his own views of the development of the Church. If it is a crime for a first-century writer to have ignored the theories of the Tübingen school invented in the nineteenth, St. Luke must plead guilty. But, after all, the historian's task is to make use of representative facts, selected (it may be) out of an enormous mass of interesting material. And though St. Luke lends no colour to the theory of permanently and irreconcilably antagonistic Petrine and Pauline schools, he certainly gives us clear indications of the friction caused both at the time and afterwards by the appearance of an uncircumcised Gentile Christianity. Most of the difficulties which still remain may be due to events that are really distinct, while something must be allowed to different points of view—different aspects of the same event. Nor must we forget that the period in question falls, in all probability, outside St. Luke's knowledge as eye-witness, and that he would therefore have a tendency to summarise.

One of the principal psychological difficulties is removed, if we place St. Peter's weakness at Antioch[1] a few months before the Council of Jerusalem:[2] though

[1] Gal. ii. 11 *sqq.* [2] Acts xv. See below, p. 81.

the reverse order is not inconceivable to one who has studied the human side of the Prince of the Apostles.

Acts of Apostles is an earlier and truer title of the work, which is mainly concerned with the doings of two leaders, St. Peter and St. Paul. It is neither a history nor a biography nor a doctrinal treatise. It is, in fact, a combination of all three—our greatest and fullest (often our only) authority for the history of the thirty odd years which it covers—the richest treasure-house of materials for a biography of St. Peter and for the framework of the activities of St. Paul; and at the same time it has justly earned the title of the "Gospel of the Holy Ghost." It presents to us, no doubt, only the most meagre proportion of the total activities of the Church as a whole. Of the majority of the Twelve it records nothing but their bare names, while other heroes, like Philip, Barnabas, Mark, flash by us, meteor-like, and disappear into obscurity. But its sketch is, from the historian's point of view, masterly—from that of the Christian student, inspired. Whosoever would study the primitive expansion of the Church of Christ must needs look at it through the eyes of St. Luke.

Character and value of the *Acts*.

But St. Luke's narrative is, happily, far from being our only document for the history of the Church in the first eighty years of her existence (29–99 A.D.). If it were, our knowledge, though immensely valuable for the main outlines and the fundamental facts and tendencies, would be much scantier than it is. To begin with, the *Acts* does not cover half the ground. It leaves us with St. Paul's arrival at Rome in 62 A.D., or with a notice

Limitations of the *Acts*.

of his two years' imprisonment, up to 64 A.D. The remaining thirty-five years are a blank. Further, its theme, as we have said, is almost exclusively "Acts of Peter" and "Acts of Paul": a statement which, however, must not be taken too seriously. For St. Peter is, after all, the central figure in all the movement of Church life as it spreads from Jerusalem throughout Palestine; and the story of St. Paul's missionary circuits in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece is, in fact, the story of the original evangelisation of the Gentile world—repeated, no doubt, to some extent in the unrecorded missions of the Twelve and of other primitive evangelisers, yet representing not merely the type but the initiating movement, and the greatest instance of its kind.

But since St. Luke is no mere chronicler but an historian, one, that is, who not only marshals his facts but subjects them to a drastic process of selection, there are, of necessity, many incidents and details, interesting in themselves, which fall outside his scope.

To some of these, the other writings of the New Testament help us; and their evidence, which on the whole harmonises satisfactorily with St. Luke's outline, is all the more valuable and convincing because it is incidental.

Gospels bear on the history.

The Gospels would seem, at first sight, to have nothing to contribute. Their subject is the Lord's earthly life and ministry, and none of them carries us beyond the Ascension; whereas the period with which we are concerned opens with Pentecost. But a little further consideration shows that they are relevant in two ways, that is, both for their subject matter and for their presentment

of it. The story of the Pentecostal Church would indeed be quite unintelligible apart from its historical presuppositions, and it is just these that are furnished in the Gospels. In the course of our enquiry we shall have to turn back not infrequently to the Gospel pages: but the Gospel facts make themselves felt more frequently still—they are, in fact, the *raison d'être* of primitive Christianity and of its missions. It is scarcely necessary to quote special instances: yet how full of symbolism for the future expansion of Christ's kingdom is St. Matthew's story of the Magi, summing up what we learn from the most varied sources about the yearnings of the Gentile world! How valuable, for one who would investigate the relations between the Jewish and Christian churches, is the evidence of the same evangelist's constant attitude towards the Old Testament! How full of teaching, on the nature of the Church, are the Sermon on the Mount and certain of the parables recorded by the one evangelist who puts the word "Ecclesia" into the Saviour's mouth! Nor need we hint at the supreme importance for our subject of the concluding verses of that Gospel, with the record of the Church's "marching orders," and the precise terms of the baptismal formula.

St. Matthew.

The Third Gospel has a unique interest for the student of the *Acts*, because the latter is its continuation by the same hand. It is a means of getting to know the mind and the methods of our author: it furnishes his own idea of the presuppositions of Apostolic Christianity: in it we possess what has been called "the Gospel according to St. Paul."

St. Luke.

And if St. Luke gives us the Pauline Gospel, both tradition and internal evidence point to the conclusion that St. Mark gives us the Petrine tradition—the type of what was normally preached and taught at first by the witnesses of the Resurrection. *St. Mark.*

The Fourth Gospel stands by itself. If it be accepted as the work of the son of Zebedee, we shall draw from it light to shed on a personality second only to St. Peter in prominence during the first days after Pentecost, and uniquely prominent at the end of the century. But even were the arguments stronger than they are in favour of its author being another John—"John the Elder"—of Papias, its *provenance* would be the same, and its date. We should still have here a document of the first century written in or near Ephesus by a personal disciple of the Lord. *St. John.*

The approximate dates to which the Gospels may now be more or less confidently assigned—St. Mark *c.* 65 A.D., St. Matthew *c.* 80 A.D., St. Luke between 80 and 90 A.D., and St. John between 90 and 100 A.D.—have their own proper importance in the question. For the Gospels, like all other historical documents, have a claim on two periods—the period of which they treat, and that in which they saw the light. Besides furnishing material, they are material. As literature of their own period they are part of its history. Thus the Gospels, while furnishing us with facts for B.C. 4–29 A.D., are relevant to the later period 65–100 A.D., and the intervening period is covered not only by the lives of their authors but by a continuous oral **Twofold witness of the Gospels.**

publication of the Gospel facts, to say nothing of the many tentative written Gospels of which St. Luke speaks.

For the second period—the period of its own genesis—the Fourth Gospel has a special importance. In it is mirrored the mature ecclesiastical belief as to what the Gospel story really meant and implied, set down by a leader of the Church in the last decade of the century, and by one who had lived in closest intimacy with the Saviour. The historian of the Apostolic Age has thus—to adduce only three instances out of many—absolutely contemporary evidence as to the orthodox and authoritative views on the question of the Lord's Divinity,[1] and on the inner meaning of Baptism[2] and the Eucharist[3] as held in the churches of Asia between 90 and 100 A.D.

Witness of 4th Gospel to beliefs at end of 1st century.

And if the Gospels bear on our period of history, still more obviously do the Pauline Epistles, for the genuineness of which we may now claim a consensus of reasonable criticism. Even as regards the Pastoral Epistles, it is becoming more and more clear that the subjective grounds on which they are still disputed in some quarters are untenable, except on an arbitrary theory of what the history and literature of the period ought to be. As regards the chief points at issue, the picture of the ministry reflected in the writings of Ignatius (*c.* 110 A.D.) makes us wonder that there are not signs of a still maturer development in the sixties of the previous century: while Irenaeus presupposes a long succes-

The Pauline Epistles.

[1] John i. 1 *sqq.*, and *passim*.

[2] John iii. 3 *sqq.* [3] John vi. 27 *sqq*

sion of heretical teachings, and is corroborated by the witness of St. Paul's own letter to the Colossians, and of the Second Epistle of St. Peter,[1] and that of St. Jude, as well as by that of the Apocalypse.

The earlier epistles of St. Paul supplement and illustrate the second half of the *Acts:* the Pastoral Epistles give us glimpses of Church life at a slightly later period.

Thus, St. Luke in the *Acts* (xiii., xiv.) gives us a summary account of the planting of the Church in the province of Galatia, at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe: the Epistle to the *Galatians*, besides supplying sundry details of the first importance about St. Paul's own career, gives us a glimpse of the inner life of that group of Churches, of St. Paul's personal relation to them, their peculiar tendencies and temptations, and the special teaching they needed. The same is true of the other Epistles. *1* and *2 Corinthians*, besides filling up the sketch given in the *Acts* (xviii. 1–18), give us an insight into the inmost heart of the Apostle in all his lofty spirituality, his intensely human affectionateness and extreme sensitiveness; and they form a perfect treasury of topics connected with the launching of a Church in heathen surroundings, furnishing also specific details on interesting points like the *charismata* or spiritual gifts characteristic of the time, on the conduct of services, on Church discipline, and apostolic authority. *Philippians* and *1* and *2 Thessalonians* add to our knowledge of the Macedonian Churches of which St. Luke describes the founding (*Acts* xvi. 11–xvii. 13):

Galatians.

1 and 2 Corinthians.

Philippians; 1 and 2 Thessalonians.

[1] But see below, pp. 12, 279 n.

while the Thessalonian Epistles (probably the earliest written books of the New Testament) introduce us to the beginnings of heretical tendency, in an unwholesome curiosity about the "Last Things." *Ephesians* (now generally held to be an encyclical letter, possibly identical with the "Epistle from Laodicea"),[1] *Colossians*, *Philemon*, and *1* and *2 Timothy*, all illustrate the interesting group of Churches founded in the province of Asia during St. Paul's visit to Ephesus described in *Acts* xix.[2] St. Luke's picture belongs to 54–6 A.D.; these other documents cover the later years 60–6 A.D.

Epistles to the Asian Province.

Ephesians. *Ephesians* draws out that ideal picture of the Church which was the lodestar of St. Paul's efforts, and a formative conception of the greatest importance in history; it also illustrates the relation of Christianity to family and social life. This latter point comes out also in *Colossians* which introduces us to a group of Churches in the Lycus Valley which St. Paul had not visited in person—Colossae, Laodicea, and Hierapolis—and is also of the first importance for the light it throws on the beginning of a Gnostic type of heresy.

Colossians.

Philemon. *Philemon*, a private letter to a member of the Colossian Church, supplies a *locus classicus* on the subject of Christianity and slavery. *1* and *2 Timothy* give us glimpses of the Church at Ephesus probably in 61 and 66 A.D. respectively; and, with *Titus* (addressed to Crete), supply extremely valuable information on the ministry of the Church just after the

Pastoral Epistles.

[1] Col. iv. 16. [2] See esp. xix. 10.

middle of the century, and on types of early heresy. Finally *Romans*, in many ways the greatest of all St. Paul's writings, though written three or four years before the Apostle set foot in the city, supplies us in its sixteenth chapter with a list of names of such remarkable interest and extent, that we may congratulate ourselves on knowing by name more members of the Church in Rome than of any other contemporaneous Christian community. Its information is the more acceptable because of the extreme meagreness of the details furnished by the last fifteen verses of St. Luke's narrative. The same Epistle tells us of the Apostle's contemplated journey to Spain,[1] and supplies material for reconstructing his theory of the relation of Christianity to the State.[2]

Romans.

The *Epistle to the Hebrews*, written, in all probability, by a disciple of St. Paul, represents a transition between the "Catholic" and the Pauline Epistles, and links the two together, even as the Pauline group form a bridge between the *Acts* and the rest of the New Testament, and the Lucan Gospel between the Gospels and the *Acts*. Invaluable for its theory of the relation of the New Covenant to the Old (whereby it throws light on the history of Judaeistic Christianity), and for its Christology in general, it is not without bearing on the history of Church institutions—Baptism, the Laying on of Hands, the Ministry, the Christian Altar.[3]

Hebrews.

The *Epistle of St. James*—now generally accepted as the work of "The Lord's Brother," is interesting to the historian as emanating from one whose figure is prominent alike in the *Acts* and

James.

[1] Rom. xv. 24, 28. [2] Rom. xiii. 1 *sqq.* [3] Heb. vi. 2; xiii. 10, 17.

Galatians. Like that of St. Jude and the Second Epistle ascribed to St. Peter, it represents the Palestinian type of Christianity, but is probably a dozen or more years earlier in date than the other two, belonging to the middle of the century. Important for its sketch of the characteristic circumstances of the Church, marked by severe trials and by tyrannous oppression on the part of wealthy neighbours, it contributes at least two definite details to our picture of Church life in its mention of a Christian "Synagogue," with seats of graduated importance, and its instructions for an Unction of the Sick. Its injunctions for a reciprocal confession of sins may possibly form the starting-point for a more developed penitential system.[1]

1 Peter.

1 Peter illustrates the fundamental identity between the teaching of St. Peter and St. Paul—so strikingly indeed that the Petrine authorship (well attested externally) has been disputed on this very ground. Its attitude toward the civil power, in spite of Ramsay's inferences from the important phrase "suffer as a Christian,"[2] bespeaks on the whole a comparatively early date—Nero's reign rather than Domitian's. Besides its strong evidence on the question of persecution, it has illuminating references to special points of doctrine and practice—baptismal regeneration, the pastoral office, the state of the departed.[3]

2 Peter.

The so-called *2 Peter* is perhaps the only book within the covers of the New Testament which cannot be claimed with confidence as a first-century document. There is a strong consensus of conservative criticism against the Petrine

[1] James ii. 2, 3; v. 14, 15, 16. [2] 1 Peter iv. 16.
[3] 1 Peter iii. 19–21; iv. 6; v. 1–4.

authorship,[1] which, indeed, was much disputed in early days, and is not mentioned at all before Origen (*c.* 230 A.D.). The most that can be said is that it may contain a fragment by St. Peter worked up by a later writer who has made a liberal use of *Jude*. If we could date and place it with certainty, its references to antinomian heresies of a Gnostic type would be valuable to the historian: so too would be its warnings against an attitude of incredulity as regards the Second Advent, and its still more remarkable evidence to a collection of the Epistles of St. Paul already in circulation and regarded as "Scripture."[2]

With the *Epistle of Jude* we are on surer ground; and here we have evidence, corroborating that of St. Paul's Pastoral Epistles, both of the development of corrupt teaching of an early Gnostic type, and of the urgent necessity felt by the Church between 60 and 70 A.D. of upholding strenuously the tradition of "sound doctrine" that had already assumed definite shape—"the faith which was once for all delivered to the saints." This is the more significant because St. Jude (most likely the brother of James, not the Apostle,) is writing to Jewish Christians, and St. Paul to Gentile Churches. The use made in *Jude* of the *Assumption of Moses* and the *Book of Enoch* have a bearing on the literary atmosphere of the Primitive Church.[3]

Jude.

Finally we come to the Johannine writings—

[1] It is unnecessary to point out that the questions of Canonicity and Inspiration are quite distinct from that of authorship.

[2] 2 Peter ii. 1 *sqq.*; iii. 3 *sqq.*; iii. 15, 16. See below, p. 279.

[3] Jude 3 (cf. 1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 13, 14); Jude 9 and 14. See below, ch. xv., p. 275.

the three *Epistles of John* and the *Revelation* (Apocalypse). Here the question of authorship must be distinguished from that of date and authenticity. The Epistles are evidently by the same hand as the Fourth Gospel; and, if not by the son of Zebedee, will be the work of an intimate disciple of the Lord—John the "Elder," or "Presbyter," mentioned by Papias[1]—and will emanate from Ephesus in the last decade of the century. The same is almost certainly true of the *Apocalypse*. The whole group of books is especially important for the historian for the light it throws upon the last years of the century, some thirty years or so after the voice of Paul is silenced. The First and Second Epistles reflect a fierce struggle against heresy on the cardinal doctrine of the Incarnation—a heresy connected by early tradition with the gnostic Cerinthus. A systematic "boycotting" of the false teachers is enjoined.[2] The Third Epistle, a private letter, besides enriching our knowledge of the personalities of the century by its mention of Gaius the hospitable receiver of travelling brethren, Demetrius the highly commended bearer of the letter, and Diotrephes the ambitious and tyrannical sower of schism, is interesting as a specimen of those "letters of commendation"[3] that bear witness to the essential unity of the scattered Christian communities of primitive times. But our richest mine of material for a reconstruction of the Church at the end of the first century is the *Apocalypse*, which reflects through-

Johannine Writings.

1 and 2 *John*.

3 *John*.

***Revelation*.**

[1] cf. 2 John i. ; 3 John i., and see below, p. 289.
[2] 2 John 10, 11. [3] 3 John 12, cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1.

out the lurid atmosphere of Domitian's persecution. Nor need we do more than refer to the manifold interest of the "Epistles to the Seven Churches" from which we shall have occasion to draw heavily in a later chapter.[1]

The New Testament does not, however, exhaust the contemporary Christian material we have to draw upon. Three documents are extant of the period 95–100 A.D. from which we shall extract evidence as to the external conditions of the Church, and also as to her inner life and institutions. One of these, the *Letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians* (*c.* 95 A.D.), represents Gentile Christians; the other two, the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* (*c.* 98 A.D.) and the *Didachê* or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (*c.* 100 A.D.), are distinctly Judaistic in character.

1st Century Christian Documents outside the Canon.

And outside the limits of the century itself there are Christian writers of a comparatively early date whose testimony is valuable in default of other evidence, as casting light back on points left obscure by the strictly contemporary witnesses. Chief among these are Ignatius and Polycarp (*c.* 110 A.D.), and Papias (*c.* 130 A.D.)—men whose lives had overlapped those of the Apostles: nor are still later writers like Hegesippus (*c.* 175 A.D.)[2] and Irenaeus (*c.* 185 A.D.) without value. The traditions they preserve have a considerable amount of weight, and their evidence as to the conditions of their own period explain to some extent the

2nd Century Church Writers.

[1] Rev. ii. and iii., and cf. below, pp. 106, 149 *sqq.*, 285.

[2] Hegesippus, like Papias, is known to us only by fragments preserved in Eusebius' *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

meaning of the inchoate forces and tendencies of an earlier age, even as the grown plant exhibits the potencies and represents the normal evolution of the sprouting seed.

Midway between Christian and pagan writings stand the works of Flavius Josephus, contemporary of men like Timothy, Titus, and Clement of Rome. An educated Jew, and a prominent actor in the tragic war which ended with the destruction of the Holy City, he spent his last years in compiling voluminous works of an apologetic character on the history and institutions of his race. Especially valuable for an understanding of the Jewish framework of early Christian history are his *Jewish War*, written before 79 A.D., and his *Antiquities of the Jews*, written about 93–4 A.D. They illustrate especially the fortunes of the Palestinian Church, and the Jewish side of the providential preparation of the world for the Gospel.

Josephus: *Antiquities* and *Jewish War*.

Pagan contemporary writers, both Latin and Greek, play also their part in the matter. In a sense the whole brilliant circle of the Augustan writers is relevant, as painting a vivid picture of the Roman aspect of the world into which Christ was born. But the historians contemporary with our period, who give us specific data of interest, are Tacitus (born *c.* 54 A.D.) and Suetonius (*c.* 74 A.D.), both of whom, though their works were written after 115 and 120 A.D., are sound and well-informed authorities on the early empire. These refer to the Christians of the first century, throwing

Pagan writers.

Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny.

light on the persecutions of Nero and Domitian and on the popular pagan conception of Christianity. Nor can we fail to recognise the importance of Pliny's *Letters to Trajan*, written in 112 A.D., i.e. about the same time as Tacitus' *Annals* and the *Epistles* of Ignatius and Polycarp. Later writers like Dio Cassius, who wrote in the third century, are occasionally useful in default of other evidence, as embodying earlier documents. These exponents of the Roman point of view serve as complements to Josephus, giving us the Gentile and imperial framework of early Christian history.

Thus the documentary sources for the history of the Church of the Apostles are, in their way, both numerous and varied. The documents emanating from within the Church range from the formal historical work of St. Luke, to the personal and private letters of St. Paul to Philemon and of St. John to Gaius. Their authors include such divers personalities as a Galilean fisherman, a learned Jewish rabbi, a Gentile man of science: their themes range from the mysteries of divine redemption and the theory of the Universal Church, to the method of dressing a woman's hair and the use of wine as an article of diet. Their evidence is partly formal and direct, partly of the most pronouncedly incidental character. Their atmosphere and tendency is sometimes Judaistic, as in the Epistles of *James* and *Jude* (a tendency carried further in the non-canonical *Barnabas* and *Didachê*), sometimes emancipated and Gentile, like the writings of St. Luke and St. Paul. Yet of these diverse elements may be composed a single living whole.

Summary: fulness and variety of the evidence.

It must be confessed, indeed, that the evidence is not continuous, nor evenly distributed. It is fullest for the period between 50 and 60 A.D., when we have the double thread of the *Acts* and the *Epistles* side by side; while for the thirty years or so that followed the death of St. Paul—the time when the First and Third *Gospels* and the *Acts* were assuming literary shape, and when Tacitus, Suetonius and Pliny, Clement and Ignatius were growing up to manhood—the direct evidence from within the Church is more than scanty. But the central event of that period—the destruction of Jerusalem—is fully and vividly described by Josephus, and the temporary silence of Christian writers is largely compensated by the richness of our material for the last decade of the century.

CHAPTER I

THE PREPARATION

TO anyone who believes in the divine ordering of history, it would be surprising indeed, if so unique an event as the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the founding of that Church which was to be His Mystical Body perpetuating the Incarnation throughout succeeding ages, should not have been prepared for in a special way. That this was also the view of the Apostolic Age itself is evinced by such phrases as St. Paul's—"When the fulness of the time was come."[1] And, as a matter of fact, it is possible to trace certain marked features of such a providential preparation of the world for Christ, notably in the history of the Jewish, Greek, and Roman peoples, their development, influence upon the world, and interaction upon one another. These display a movement towards the "Divine Event," largely unconscious, yet (even in the Gentile world) finding utterance in voices of expectation. And, though each of the three races has its characteristic obstacles and hindrances also to oppose to the progress of the nascent Church, these obstacles themselves turn out to be fraught with blessing, and to help on, in each case, some aspect of that development which they seemed born to obstruct.

Preparation in history for the Christian Church.

[1] Gal. iv. 4.

The Jewish people, who were to be the cradle of the New Teaching and the New Life, had undergone a process of divinely ordered preparation, the record of which is spread over the whole of the Old Testament.

The Jewish preparation.

Their religious and theological training, with its revelation of a God at once One and Personal, the almighty Creator, ever-present Sustainer, and righteous Ruler of the universe; with its doctrine of Man made in God's image, fallen through wilfulness, yet capable by divine help of restoration to holiness—their national discipline of painful self-realisation in conquest and in self-development (in success alternated with failure and humiliation) culminating in a series of experiences which made for ever impossible any further relapse into idolatry—and, finally, that co-ordination of theological revelation and national discipline which had orientated the highest of their literature and the hearts of their most devoted saints towards the coming of a divine yet human Messiah,[1]—all this is but the meagrest outline of the process of preparation. The proclaiming voice of John the Baptist is just the summary of what has gone before; and the pious souls whom St. Luke describes as "looking for the consolation and the redemption of Jerusalem"[2] are representatives of that holy "remnant"[3] which typifies the yearnings of the entire Hebrew race.

Inheritance of O.T. theology.

[1] Thus, the vision of the "Suffering Servant" of Isaiah liii., etc., is the product of the discipline of the Babylonian exile.

[2] Luke ii. 25, 38.

[3] Isa. x. 20–22; xxxvii. 4, 32; Jer. xxiii. 3; xxxi. 7, etc.

In the story of the preparation in history for the Christian Church a preponderating treatment is due to the Old Covenant and its relation to the New.

The *Ecclesia* or Church of Christ is linked by its very name to the Church of the Old Covenant: for that name, *Ecclesia*, is the familiar Greek equivalent of the Hebrew titles for the "Congregation" of the LORD and the "Assembly" of that congregation.[1] When our Saviour used this word[2] on the critical occasion of St. Peter's confession of His Messiahship and Divinity, he was adopting deliberately a word with a long history and definite traditional associations: he was, in fact, claiming for the new kingdom the rich heritage of the Old Testament.

What this meant for Christianity we can only dimly appreciate by a futile attempt to imagine the lack of it. The New Testament Canon itself, the most beneficently influential group of writings that the world will ever know, was only rendered possible because the Church began her career with a whole body of sacred Scriptures ready to hand—a body of Scriptures which impressed the more philosophical opponents of Christianity by their elevated teaching and their venerable antiquity. The New Testament is to the Old as substance to shadow: yet the attempt to eliminate from it everything which presupposes the Old Testament would leave the meagrest and most unintelligible residuum.

The O.T. and the N.T.

The incidental advantages for the propagation of the new faith, furnished by the scattered colonies

[1] *ἐκκλησία* in LXX. stands for both עֵדָה and קָהָל.

[2] Matt. xvi. 18.

of Jews in the cities round the Mediterranean, will shortly come before us. But the Church of the Old Covenant was in a far more direct and intimate sense a preparation for the Church of Christ, and so, for all the world, a sacred school of the knowledge of God and of the spiritual life.

Contrast between Judaism and Christianity.

If there is a close connexion between the Church of the Old Testament and that of the New, there is also a marked contrast. To the former, the reverent acceptance by Christendom of the Hebrew Scriptures bears eloquent and lasting witness; and the latter—the latent antagonism between the two—while it left its mark upon our Lord's teaching, figured largely also in the conflicts and controversies of the Apostolic Age and in many subsequent periods.

As the Gentile Churches grew in importance and in consciousness of independence the breach widened: yet in the breach itself there lay the germ of a reaction, of a *rapprochement* between Old Testament and New Testament ideas. The young Church was able to view its Judaic inheritance objectively, from without and in perspective; and thus became capable of making a juster estimate. Judaism was then seen more and more to be full of deep symbolic meaning, and that especially in its earlier and more fundamental elements—those elements which the conditions of life in the "Dispersion" had for some time tended to obscure.[1] The Christian system, which derived origin-

[1] Cf. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, i., p. 10 (references are to Eng. tr., 2 vols., 1908, Williams and Norgate). Harnack points out (i. 281 *sqq.*) that the Old Testament itself converted to Christianity Tatian, Justin Martyr, and the author of the *Preaching of Peter*.

ally from the Synagogue the bulk of its scheme of worship—the psalter and the lections—and probably some details of its organisation—e.g. the presbyterate—came to be interpreted in terms of the Levitical system and the Temple worship. On the basis of St. Paul's teaching is built up the elaborate symbolism of the Epistle to the Hebrews, almost certainly the work of a disciple of that Apostle. The Church is recalled from the Synagogue to the Temple. The breaking of bread is a sacrificial act and the Presbyter a Priest. We have an Altar—we have a High Priest—we have an Atonement—which are the eternal antitypes of those venerable institutions that are so soon to pass away: so teaches the writer of that Epistle, on the eve of the destruction of Jerusalem. And this interpretation of the classic system of Old Testament worship assumes an increasing importance in the next age—an age which testifies also its appreciation of the inspired literature of the Hebrews in the fierceness of its contest with the Gnostic controversialists, whose teaching tended to divorce the Old Testament from the New. For worship and for faith alike, Christendom has always held itself uniquely indebted to the Jewish Church, which was indeed a "schoolmaster" to bring souls to Christ.

Christian Worship and *Hebrews.*

The main foundation of the Church is thus built upon Jewish soil; but Rome and Greece have each her contribution to offer, and to offer in close union with Judaism. And first comes Greece.

For three centuries before the birthday of the Church, the process of blending and unification initiated by Alexander's conquests had been at work;

and for half a century past—since the union of the Roman world under Augustus—that process had been quickened and stimulated afresh. The Old Testament Scriptures had been translated into Greek, and with them were circulated a large group of apocryphal books designed to supplement the canonical writings. With these are to be classed also a number of pseudonymous works largely apocalyptic in character like the *Book of Enoch* quoted by St. Jude, and the *Psalms of Solomon*, which did much to define and develop the Messianic hopes of those who lived at the time when Jesus was born. In some of these works the Greek element is little more than the literary vehicle of expression; in some, as in the books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, Greek thought also enters perceptibly. But the forging of that instrument of language is itself a very important part of the preparation for Christianity. It makes possible the diffusion into a larger circle of the group of fundamental theological ideas which had hitherto been confined to a small and exclusive race. And so it was that in the days of the Apostles themselves the history of the Hebrews came to be clothed in Hellenic dress by Josephus, and their thought interpreted (somewhat fantastically perhaps) in terms of Plato by Philo. The historical side of the Old Testament had begun to diffuse itself and take a place among the common topics of educated humanity, and its theological ideas to be co-ordinated with Hellenic philosophical conceptions. And, in the process, that wonderful language was born—less beautiful (as art) than

The Greek preparation.

Diffusion of O. T. Scriptures in Greek.

Preparation of language: Hellenistic Greek.

the Greek of Plato or of Demosthenes, but infinitely richer and more expressive in the region of those all-important religious ideas which Greek philosophy at its highest had scarce begun to dream of. Sin, penitence, conversion, the glory of meekness and of humility, the mysteries of the Gospel, regeneration, salvation—the wherewithal to communicate these thoughts in human language was provided just in time, ere the Gospel had to be preached.[1] For with Christ we enter into a new circle of ideas foreign to Greek and Roman ethics, and so the New Testament requires a new vocabulary, or a vast extension of the old one. The way up to this vocabulary had been led by the fusion of Greek and Semitic thought, aided perhaps by the growing influence of the "Mysteries" in popular Hellenic religion—an influence itself probably derived in part from the spreading leaven of Hebrew and other Oriental systems of belief.

The Roman preparation.

The part played by Rome was, as generally conceived, a more practical one. The conquests of Alexander, ephemeral in their political results, but all-important in their social and educational outcome, and the commercial activities of Hellas, whose colonies were scattered from Marseilles and Cyrene to the Euxine and the Levant, had prepared a *lingua franca*, by means of which all, or nearly all, that congeries of peoples dwelling round the Mediterranean might be evangelised. The Roman rule supplied a material, social, and political, rather than an intellectual basis for the spread of the Gospel.

Travelling facilities.

[1] And the Hellenising movement seems to have spent itself at the end of the second century (Harnack, i. 19).

The Pax Romana made travelling possible and safe in all the Mediterranean regions: the splendid Roman roads made movement comparatively swift and easy on land: while the maritime service was in its way regular and effective. Travelling in those days, we are assured, "was contemplated and performed . . . with an indifference, confidence, and, above all, certainty, which were unknown in after centuries until the introduction of steamers."[1] "The world enjoys peace," wrote Irenaeus ere the close of the second century, "thanks to the Romans, and we can travel, by road or by sea, wheresoever we list, unafraid."[2] One Phrygian merchant has left us a record that he voyaged seventy-two times to Rome and back in the course of his life;[3] and, to say nothing of St. Paul, the movements of Aquila and Priscilla, described or implied in the New Testament, suggest almost modern facilities. Along the frequented routes the "ubiquitous merchant and soldier" carried with them an exchange of wares and of ideas.

Roman citizenship.

The privileges of Roman citizenship might be employed by a Paul for the advancement of his missionary schemes: but the influence of Roman rule gave real facilities at the outset to those also who, like St. Peter, could not claim the rights of a *civis Romanus*. And, as time went on, the slow but steady lifting of the status of slaves, freedmen, and provincials tended to give a practical sanction to the Stoic doctrine of the

[1] See Ramsay on "Roads and Travel in New Testament," Hastings' *Dict.*, Vol. V, esp., p. 396 *sq.*

[2] Irenaeus, iv. 30, 3 (quoted by Harnack, i. 369).

[3] CIG 3920 (Harnack, *loc cit.*).

essential unity of mankind—a doctrine cardinal in Christianity.

The object-lesson of Rome's world-wide dominion was calculated to stimulate and to develop in early Christian missionaries a sort of religious imperialism, and to bring to birth the idea of a Catholic or Universal Church; while the imperial administration and organisation, besides lending itself to the diffusion of a great spiritual impulse—supplying as it were, a ready-made system of veins and arteries along which the life-blood might circulate—gave, no doubt, to the first builders of the Catholic Church something of a model to work upon. It is significant that in many cases the lines of ecclesiastical jurisdiction followed the boundaries of the Roman provinces. Nay, in Asia Minor, where the task of imperial pacification was especially remarkable and timely (its climax falling under Claudius, 41–54 A.D.), even the organisation of the worship of Rome and Augustus, which played a great part in that process of unification, has been claimed as itself furnishing a model in some things for the Christian organisation.[1] Finally, the really liberal religious policy of Rome was at first a stimulus to Christianity in particular, as well as preparing the ground for an acceptance of its doctrines, and that although (as we shall see later on) after a few decades the State showed itself hostile to the new faith on the ground of its exclusive character. These, and many other facilities, were the unconscious offering of pagan Rome to the spread of the Gospel.

Imperial ideals and object-lessons.

Religious policy of Rome.

[1] See Harnack, ii. 183.

But just as in the intellectual preparation for Christianity the Jewish factor was blended with the Hellenic, so in the practical preparation for the planting and the spread of the Church the Roman element is supplemented by the Jewish.

Jews, Romans, and Greeks.

The policy of Alexander and his successors, while it made possible the fusion of the Greek with the Hebrew stream of thought, planted also throughout Asia Minor and in Egypt and elsewhere small bodies of Jews engaged in commerce. Alexander himself, according to Plutarch, founded no less than seventy new cities in Asia; and his successors founded many more. And, wherever the new cities sprang up, the Jewish colony was to be found, with its special privileges and exemptions. A letter written by King Agrippa to Caligula in 38 A.D. speaks of colonies in Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Coele-Syria, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and most districts of Asia Minor as far as Bithynia and the extreme parts of Pontus. Across the Aegean the Jews swarmed in Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, and the larger portion of the Peloponnese, in Euboea, Cyprus, Crete, and the islands generally.[1] The Jewish colonies were not by any means popular among their Gentile neighbours: their exclusiveness was resented, as is clear from hints in Juvenal, Tacitus, and other writers; and their privileges, no doubt, roused a certain amount of jealousy. Their position was analogous to that of Mohammedans in a Hindoo city to-day. Nor were they by tendency

The "Dispersion": spread of Jewish colonies.

[1] Philo, *de Legat.*, ii. 587, cit. by Conybeare, Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Greece."

missionaries. Yet a change had come over Hebraism since the days when the book of Jonah was launched against them — an arraignment of the race for its neglect to influence the heathen. Since the Alexandrian epoch it had adopted more and more the missionary attitude. The Jewish literature of that period "has an apologetic bent and the instinct of propaganda."[1] And the Gospels themselves offer us a glimpse of an extremely liberal type of Judaism—in the scribe who "answered well"[2]—which marks the first movement of the severely national religion towards a Catholic syncretism. So it was that the Jew of the Dispersion began to make proselytes among the women-folk of his Gentile neighbours, and to impress the more serious-minded and intellectual of the men with the venerable antiquity of his Scriptures, the haunting profundity of his theological beliefs, and the loftiness of his moral code. His synagogue provided a base of operations for the Christian missionary who came (he also) in the name of the God of Abraham and Moses: and the Hellenist himself was more apt to look kindly on the new doctrine than were the Hebraist Pharisees or the Sadducees of Palestine. The Jews of the Dispersion, though remaining loyal for the most part to their ancestral tradition, were less narrow-minded than the stricter Jews of Palestine, and less affected on the other hand with that essentially irreligious spirit which marked the Sadducean hierarchy and had driven the Essenes, in disgust at the degradation of the

Tendency to proselytise.

Synagogues centres for Christian propaganda.

[1] Harnack, i. 9 (note 3). [2] Mark xii. 28–34.

Temple worship, to their ascetic exile on the borders of the Dead Sea.

But if the seed and the means of sowing and spreading it were ready, there was also a preparation of the soil. Partly through Jewish influence and partly outside its range there had grown up "a common development towards monotheism and a common yearning for Saviours."[1] St. Matthew's matchless story of the coming of the Eastern Magi—sages from a quarter where monotheism had already been prevalent before it was reinforced by the captivity of Israel and Judah—is typical of an attitude of expectation to be found at that period far beyond the bounds of Judaistic influence: though the semi-Jewish "Sibylline Oracles" were no doubt in part responsible for it, and in part the philosophic acceptance of Jewish propaganda. Those strange blends of Hebrew teaching with polytheistic traditions, which were to give birth to the Gnostic heresies, introduced, at any rate, a vogue for a mystical philosophy of religion, a craving for some sort of revelation, and a thirst for miracle, to which the advent of a St. Paul must have seemed like Heaven's own response. It was in a world thus expectant—the world whose longing was voiced by Virgil's noble Eclogue—that, in the spring of 29 A.D., the polyglot multitude of pilgrims of the Dispersion diffused, on their homeward journey, the echoes of the Pentecostal message.

General expectancy.

No sketch, however, of the external conditions in which Christendom had its birth would be complete, that should fail to take account of certain very serious

[1] Harnack, i. 22.

obstacles and hindrances. These are bound up with the providential facilities of which we have spoken: they arise from the same quarters —Jewish, Greek, Roman—and at first sight they seem to counterbalance the help given. In the end, however, they will prove to have been largely blessings in disguise, furthering in one way or another the many-sided development of the Church's life.

The helpers also hindered.

Prominent among these hindrances is the relation in which the nascent Church found herself placed with regard to the elder Judaism. Of this relation we have already spoken above, and we shall have occasion to revert to the same subject when we sketch the fortunes of the Palestinian Church. For our present purpose it will suffice to call attention to two points: first the inevitable tendency, both from within and from without, to confuse Christianity with Judaism; and secondly the organised and subtle hostility with which the extreme Judaizers both within and without the Church greeted the appearance of a free Gentile Christianity. Probably the most serious initial obstacle to the independent development of the religion of Christ was the difficulty which the first nucleus of the Church—consisting entirely of Jews—found in disentangling the new religion from the old. Their temptations were all in the direction of pouring the new wine into the old familiar wine-skins.[1] In the first days the little community basked in the sunshine of a general popularity.[2] They and their leaders were all of them

Hindrances from Judaism.

Confusion of Christianity with Judaism.

[1] Matt. ix. 17 and parallels. [2] Acts ii. 47.

circumcised, lived as pious Jewish laymen, frequented the Temple services at Jerusalem and the synagogues elsewhere. They scarcely realised themselves that the characteristic and permanent among their observances were those extra meetings at home for the breaking of bread, or that the instinctive keeping of the Lord's Day as a commemoration of the Master's resurrection would in time supersede the punctilious observance of the Sabbath with which they began. Thus the confusion of Christians with Jews which we find in such writers as Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio Cassius, was at first shared by the Christians themselves. It was only after much heartburning and under the pressure of very weighty events that this brotherhood, still known in Palestine as late as 57 A.D. under the name of a Jewish "sect,"[1] disentangled itself from Judaism as such. It was only after a fierce struggle that Judaistic Christianity submitted to accept Gentile converts on any other than a strict Jewish basis. It would be too much to say that the inclusion of the Gentiles was a direct reaction from this exclusive tendency of Judaism: for it had been the subject of special revelation alike to St. Peter and St. Paul.[2] Yet the long-drawn struggle had a real place among the factors of the Church's evolution. Granted that the admission of the Gentiles was bound to come, the Pauline conception of a free and universal Church, hammered out during painful years in the furnace of opposition, owes much of its beauty and perfection to the character of its genesis, in which one burning question after another was definitely raised and answered.

Hostility of Judaizers.

[1] Acts xxiv. 14. [2] Acts x. 10 *sqq.*; xxii. 21.

To this process the Church owes very largely her matured consciousness of independence—of an independence strong enough to face the terrors of Rome's hostility without the comfort of a nation's backing or the inspiration of an earthly patriotism — of an independence which yet secures to her the full inheritance of the Old Testament scriptures and the Old Testament revelation, and enables her to fulfil her rôle of completing and supplementing that revelation with a liberty of self-development and self-adaptation which would have been impossible for a mere Jewish sect.

Fruits of the struggle with Judaism.

An apparent counterpoise to the advantages offered to the first Christian teachers by the Greek language as a vehicle of thought, is to be found in those intellectual aberrations which troubled the primitive Church with her first heresies.

Hindrances from Hellenism.

It had been the marriage of Hebrew and Gentile ideas consequent on the Jewish Dispersion that had given the nascent Church her *lingua franca*. It was from a fusion of Hebrew with Hellenic and quasi-Hellenic speculation—with notions borrowed from Greek philosophy and Oriental theosophy—that those Gnostic doctrines took shape which are the type of heresy that emerges in New Testament times. The frank polytheism of the original Greek religion, and the veiled polytheism of its alloys with Jewish and Persian speculation, both alike stimulated the Church to the realisation and definition of her dogmatic inheritance. The fundamental beliefs incidentally stated, or organically implied, in her Apostolic tradition and her

Hellenism and heretical speculation.

Fruits of the struggle with heresy.

documents took concrete and logical shape under stress of successive controversies forced upon her for several generations to come. So her beliefs became clear-cut and, in a manner, stereotyped. Vagueness disappeared; and she acquired a nucleus of guiding principles which should never grow obsolete, though their application and temporary expression might vary from age to age. As specimens of the good that can come out of error, it will be enough to point out that we owe to the Colossian heresy the priceless Christological passage in the beginning of St. Paul's Epistle to that Church, and to the docetic teachings of Cerinthus the profound doctrine of the Incarnation in St. John's first Epistle.[1]

And if the Church owes much to Jewish opposition and to the struggle with Graeco-Jewish heresy, she owes much also to her unwilling antagonism to the Roman Government.[2] St. Peter and St. Paul alike are unhesitating in their attitude of submission to lawfully constituted authority, for them "Render unto Caesar . . ." means "Honour the King," when that "king" is a Nero. But the simple phrase which St. Peter utters about suffering "as a Christian"[3] is all-important, because it suggests a limit beyond which the Christian might not pass in submission to "the powers that be." There were forms in which loyalty to Roman authority customarily expressed itself that were not open to a Christian, involving disloyalty to his Divine Master. Sheltered in the earliest years by the general failure to distinguish them from those Jews whom Roman policy habitually

Antagonism of Rome.

[1] See further ch. xvi., p. 307 *sq.* [2] See ch. xii., esp. p. 225 *sqq.*
[3] 1 Peter iv. 16.

treated with a somewhat contemptuous tolerance, they afterwards exchanged the fanatical hostility of the unbelieving Jews for the mechanical antagonism of a system in which patriotism and religion were almost as closely associated as in the Japan of to-day. Rome, instigated and guided, no doubt, by Jewish jealousy, discovered that she was harbouring in her midst a principle which by its religious exclusiveness and its universal claim threatened the very foundations of her imperial system. She therefore took measures in self-defence. The test she offered was simply the casting of a few grains of incense upon the altar of the deified Emperor; the issue was life or death.

Grounds of Roman antagonism.

Thus incidentally and upon a side-issue commenced that momentous and apparently one-sided conflict between Church and Empire—a contest in which all the material forces were arrayed on the one side, opposed only by moral and spiritual weapons on the other. The purifying, bracing, and consolidating influence exercised upon the Church by this terrible discipline can scarcely be estimated. Her tradition of loyalty was learnt in no ordinary school. And besides the intrinsic advantages reaped from persecution, the external progress of Christianity was, in the end, actually furthered by it. The vine was being pruned that it might bear more fruit.[1] In the well-known phrase of Tertullian, the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the Church. Nor was it merely that the noblest and sincerest contemporary minds had their attention arrested and their affections drawn by the

Fruits of Roman persecution.

[1] John xv. 2.

spectacle of faithfulness "unto death,"[1] and so were attracted to recruit themselves under the banner of the "Galilean." Those who fertilised the field with their martyr-blood were not lost to the Church, but gained in a new way. Their comrades early began—quite how early we do not know—to observe the anniversaries of their martyrdom as "birthdays"; and the inspiration of their noble example was intensified by the conviction that beyond the veil their intercessions for the Church militant arose before Him "to Whom all live." The "How long?" of the martyr-souls in the Apocalypse[2] is a battle-cry for their fighting brothers.

The hindrances prove helps.

And so it is not only on the positive side that we may discern a providential preparation for the Church: in that training of the Jews to mediate spiritual truths to all mankind, in that preparation through Hellenism of an intellectual and through Rome of a material medium for the spread of Christianity.

If the wind was with her, the tide was strong against her, and from the first launching of the Church all the qualities of seamanship were brought into play. Like Israel of old she was saved from the perils of an illusory progress: "By little and little I will drive them out from before thee, until thou be increased, and inherit the land."[3] The antagonism of her foes helped on, unconsciously, her true development: the friction of their persecution polished the shaft which the suffering servant of the Lord was to be;[4] and, in the Psalmist's image, the Lord wrapped round Himself

[1] Rev. ii. 10.
[2] Rev. vi. 10.
[3] Exod. xxiii. 29, 30.
[4] Isa. xlix. 2.

the raging hostility of His enemies and wore it as a garment of victory :—

"Surely the wrath of men shall praise Thee ;
The residue of wrath shalt Thou gird upon Thee."[1]

[1] Ps. lxxvi. 10.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH OF PENTECOST

THE "Day of Pentecost," which may in all probability be dated more precisely as May 28th in the year 29 A.D.,[1] was in a very true sense the birthday of the Christian Church. That Church, as we have seen, had its ancestry in the Old Testament, even as its Lord and Head was "born of the seed of David according to the flesh":[2] but, like Him, it was a new and virgin-birth, issuing from a mystical union between heaven and earth, having a celestial origin in virtue of the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost. And the drama of the Lord's nativity and life and death and resurrection and ascension led up to this supreme moment in which the power of His incarnate life became embodied in a living organism indwelt by the Divine Spirit, and destined to spread His undying influence through all spaces and down all ages of the earth's existence. Here was fulfilled His promise, made on the night of the betrayal, of a coming of the Holy Ghost, in which He Himself was to come,[3] and the further promise made before He ascended: "Lo I am with you all the days, even unto the end of the

Antecedents and presuppositions.

[1] See C. H. Turner, in Hastings' *Dictionary*, s.v. "Chronology," esp. p. 424.

[2] Rom. i. 3.

[3] John xiv. 16-18, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7-15.

world."[1] Here, too, was fulfilled the promise of history, towards which had been directed, on converging lines, that manifold providential preparation which we have sketched above. The "Kingdom of Heaven"—in a sense still expected to-day, as a future consummation, after more than nineteen Christian centuries—was, in another sense, definitely planted among men.

The narrative in the Acts.

The narrative of the Acts[2] is too familiar to require repetition and too venerable to admit of paraphrase. We can but sketch and summarise certain of its leading features.

The rushing sound "as of a mighty wind" that shook the building where the Lord's expectant disciples were assembled—some six-score souls in all,[3] the appearance of flame-like tongues resting upon the head of each, and the ecstatic utterances of the inspired band are described as making a great impression in the city. The polyglot crowd of Jews of the Dispersion who had assembled for the Feast at Jerusalem ran together at the rumour of the strange phenomenon, to fall under the spell of the speakers; and, by some magnetic influence of spiritual sympathy, found themselves in touch with the minds of the Galilean orators, who were themselves transported on to a higher and wider plane of expression. Spirit, it would seem, sprang into direct contact with spirit; and thus the effect produced was as though each listener, whether from Mesopotamia, Arabia, Crete, North Africa, or Rome, heard the message of

[1] Matt. xxviii. 20.

[2] Acts ii.

[3] Acts i. 15. But cf. 1 Cor. xv. 6, where 500 "brethren" are mentioned in Galilee.

God's wonderful dealings delivered to him in the familiar tongue of his adopted city.[1]

Practical significance of the miracle.

Whatever may be the psychological basis and explanation of this miracle (and to that point we may perhaps revert in a succeeding chapter),[2] its practical significance is not far to seek. It represents the reversal (as the early Fathers truly observed) of that separative tendency of fallen humanity typified and summarised in the Old Testament story of Babel.[3] The humility and self-devoting love of the Incarnate Christ is the antidote to that godless, self-aggrandising pride which has always been the most potent disintegrating influence in the human race. The Christian Church—the "extension," as it has well been called, "of the Incarnation"—endowed with the life of the Holy Spirit, the ultimate unifying principle, is destined to transcend all barriers of race, language, and tradition, and to make all one in Christ. From the Far East, from Persia, and from the great plain of the Two Rivers, where the original colonies, dating from the Babylonian captivity, had been reinforced by subsequent additions, through Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and North Africa, where Alexander the Great and his successors had planted flourishing groups of Hebrew traders, the catalogue of the pilgrims carries us westward to Rome itself, whither Pompey had transplanted a large number of Jewish families nearly a century ago, in 63 B.C. Thus the civilised world, in its extent and variety, was, as it were, typically represented by St. Peter's audience.

[1] Acts ii. 5–11.

[2] See below, ch. xiv., p. 254 *sqq.*

[3] Gen. xi. 1–9.

Extraordinary psychical phenomena, whether genuine or spurious, lend themselves irresistibly to ridicule on the part of the sceptical, and the august manifestations with which the Church was inaugurated could not escape some jeering comments.[1]

St Peter's sermon: its tone and results.

The charge of drunkenness was met by St. Peter—his passionate nature calmed and steadied, surely, by the newly received Gift—with words of sober and convincing reassurance. It is, indeed, no mean tribute to the power of that supernatural agency and its influence alike on speaker and on listeners, that St. Peter's first Christian sermon, nobly defiant and uncompromising in its attribution of Messiahship to Him for Whose execution his audience had been largely responsible, produced the effect it did. After drawing their attention to the remarkable way in which Jesus of Nazareth had fulfilled Old Testament prophecy alike in His works and in His death and resurrection, he concludes: "Let all the house of Israel therefore know assuredly that God hath made Him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus Whom ye crucified!"[2] And what followed? The excited multitude, instead of falling upon him in fury, behaved like penitents at a revival meeting, and crying out "Brethren, what shall we do?" offered themselves in their hundreds for baptism at the Apostles' hands.[3]

So it was that a day which dawned on a group of some six-score souls[4] closed on a Church securely launched upon its voyage, with its numbers multiplied by twenty-five.[5]

[1] Acts ii. 13. [2] Acts ii. 36. [3] Acts ii. 37 *sqq.*
[4] Acts i. 15. [5] About 3000. Acts ii. 41.

Type of early Apostolic preaching.

St. Peter's sermon, as recorded in the narrative of St. Luke, is representative of the early Apostolic teaching, which is essentially and fundamentally a witness to the resurrection of Jesus Christ.[1] Addressing himself to Jews and Jewish proselytes, he proclaims a twofold fulfilment of the Messianic teaching of the Old Testament. Joel's prophecy[2] that the longed-for Age would be characterised by a general outpouring of the Spirit of God (more general, the sequel was to show, than was realised by the prophet, or, as yet, by his exponent) was fulfilled in the spiritual phenomena which had roused so much attention: while the resurrection of the crucified Jesus had been foreshadowed in such Davidic utterances as that of the sixteenth Psalm[3]—utterances in which perfect and unbroken communion with God is made a pledge of incorruption and of eternal hope in Hades. It is not, however, to mere individual utterances that this primitive preaching appeals, as though in Christ were fulfilled "a few isolated predictions here and there." St. Peter takes prophecy as a whole, even as his Master had done, and proclaims the fulfilment of it all. So much we may infer from the tone of this sermon and from the actual words of the next.[4]

The brief sketch of the earliest days of the Church which concludes the chapter[5] is very significant, com-

[1] Acts i. 22.

[2] Joel ii. 28–32.

[3] Ps. xvi. 8–11.

[4] See E. A. Edghill, cited in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, Oct., 1908, p. 153, and cf. Luke xxiv. 27, 44, and Acts iii. 24.

[5] Acts ii. 42 *sqq.*

bining features which were to be permanent in the Church throughout all its subsequent vicissitudes with certain tentative and temporary tendencies such as would naturally find a place in the first stages of the development of a new organism.

St. Luke's sketch of primitive Church life.

With the latter must certainly be classed the communistic tendency[1] which, while natural in the first fervour of a new-found brotherhood and feasible in a small community, was soon found to be impracticable as the Church spread its organisation beyond the bounds of the city and of Judaea and Samaria to the ends of the earth. The "pooling" of possessions (if we may be allowed the phrase) seems indeed to have been strictly voluntary from the first, as we may gather from St. Peter's words to Ananias,[2] affording—negatively in the case of Ananias and positively in that of St. Barnabas[3]—an effective test of sincerity and devotion. It was instrumental, incidentally, in the development of the Church's ministry, necessitating the appointment of the seven "deacons."[4] In course of time, however, it seems to have been found unworkable as a system. The satisfactory results claimed for it in the first two notices[5] are darkened by the shadow of Ananias' deceit; and while the growing complaints of unfair distribution—natural outcome of an administrative system whose functions had outgrown its capacities—were met by the ordination of the Seven, designed to relieve the Apostles of

Temporary features: Communism.

[1] Acts ii. 44, 45; iv. 32–7; v. 1 *sqq.*
[2] Acts v. 4. [3] Acts iv. 36. [4] Acts vi. 1 *sqq.*
[5] Acts ii. 44 *sqq.*; iv. 34, 35.

this "serving of tables," and set them free for direct evangelistic work, the Seven themselves (if we may argue from the cases of St. Stephen and St. Philip, of whose work alone detailed records are preserved) were soon diverted to other tasks. The subsequent allusions to the poverty of the community at Jerusalem, both in the Acts[1] and in St. Paul's Epistles,[2] lend colour to the inference that a body which needed so soon to be supported by the alms of Gentile converts had, in the course of time, paid heavily for its brief experiment in communistic finance.

Temporary also were certain other features of the picture given us of the primitive Christian community.

Temple worship.

The environment of their daily worship, the magnificent Herodian Temple,[3] had only forty years more to stand; and its destruction by the soldiers of Titus[4] holds a very significant place in the evolution of Christian worship. It cannot but have arrested the Judaizing tendencies of a large section of Palestinian Christendom, and have helped that wing of the Church of Christ to become conscious of its independence of the unconverted Jewish Church.[5] In the meantime, however, the Temple and its ritual afforded a framework for the devotional life of the earliest Christians, whose leaders wrought their first notable miracle in connexion with the evening sacrifice (at the hour of *None*, in subsequent Church usage), and made it the occasion of

[1] Acts xi. 29.

[2] Rom. xv. 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 1 *sqq.*; ix. 1; Gal. ii. 10.

[3] Acts ii. 46; iii. 1. Cf. Luke xxiv. 53.

[4] Josh., *B. J.* VI, iv. 5–8.

[5] See below, ch. iv., p. 90.

authoritative preaching.[1] Primitive Christendom was not left to a life of entirely unsystematic piety such as is sometimes imagined for it. There was a traditional scheme of devotion ready to hand. And the Temple worship, as well as the services of the synagogue, contributed, no doubt, its quota to the Church's subsequent liturgical evolution.[2]

A third feature which, in its original form at least, was destined to be temporary, was the coruscation of miracles which ushered in the career of the Apostolic Church: the "many wonders and signs"[3] wrought by the Apostles in those early days at Jerusalem. **Wonders and signs.**

The miraculous element in the Old Testament, as commonly understood, is for the most part concentrated in certain critical periods; and among these figures by far the most prominently the epoch of Moses and Joshua—the formation, that is, and the planting of the Church of the Old Covenant. In the history of the Church of the New Covenant it is likewise the initial stages that are similarly protected and proclaimed.

> "Ye stick a garden-plot with ordered twigs
> To shew inside lie germs of herbs unborn
> And check the careless step would spoil this birth;
> But when herbs wave, the garden twigs may go."[4]

After the first launching of the ship external artificial aid becomes superfluous: though the wonder of her internal mechanism is permanently needed. So for the Church, after her first launching, the moral and spiritual miracles involved in conversion and pro-

[1] Acts iii. 1 *sqq.*
[2] See further, p. 93.
[3] Acts ii. 43.
[4] R. Browning, *A Death in the Desert.*

gressive sanctity, and her sacramental dower of grace remained sufficient to attest the supernatural force within her. Without trenching upon the vexed question of "ecclesiastical miracles"—a question which needs re-opening in these days of non-ecclesiastical faith-healing—we may safely say that, whereas even to-day wonders undreamed of may be possible to those with eyes to see and faith to believe, the Christian "Age of Miracles" *par excellence* may be reckoned as roughly contemporaneous with the lifetime of the Apostles. "Miracle was

> . . . duly wrought
> When, save for it, no faith was possible";

but its *raison d'être* soon ceased, when

> ". . . faith grew, making void more miracles,
> Because too much; they would compel, not help."[1]

Permanent elements.

The permanent elements suggested in St. Luke's sketch are summed up in the words, "They continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers":[2] to which should be added as a preliminary the implication of St. Peter's injunction recorded four verses earlier: "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost."[3]

On this subject we shall have more to say when we come to sketch the inner life of the Church. It will be enough to suggest here that we have the picture of a Church to which entrance is ministered to each individual by baptism, in accordance with the Lord's

[1] Browning, *loc. cit.* [2] Acts ii. 42. [3] Acts ii. 38.

parting injunction,[1] repentance and faith being demanded as indispensable conditions, and the gift of the Holy Ghost pledged as a consequence. The marks of this Church are communion with the Apostles and loyal adherence to their teaching, and a regular devotional life in which the central place is occupied by the solemn memorial instituted by the Master, known to the first believers under the name of "the Breaking of Bread."[2]

External career of Pentecostal Church.

The Church at its inception did not excite the hatred of the surrounding population. Its members proclaimed themselves loyal and devout Jews by their constant attendance at the Temple worship.[3] Neither they nor their neighbours were conscious of the immense chasm that was to reveal itself, separating those children of Abraham who accepted the crucified Messiah as crown and flower of all the Old Testament revelation from those who rejected Him, and while abjuring the complete disclosure of God in Christ, clung all the more fiercely to the partial revelation which they held.

Initial popularity.

And the atmosphere of unstinted generosity which pervaded the new "sect"[4] as its adherents gave up their all and adopted the simplest life, taking "their food with gladness and singleness of heart, and praising God" continually,[5] was of a character to disarm criticism and win sympathy (if not admiration) even from those to whom the source and origin of these developments remained a mystery. It is therefore without surprise

[1] Matt. xxviii. 19.
[2] See below, ch. xiv. p. 264 *sqq.*
[3] Acts ii. 46 ; iii. 1 ; v. 20 *sqq.*
[4] Acts xxiv. 5, 14.
[5] Acts ii. 46, 47, cf. Luke xxiv. 53.

that we read of the primitive Jerusalem community that it at once achieved popularity: "having favour with all the people."[1]

This friendly feeling, however, did not extend to the priestly ruling classes, those who had been principally and most directly responsible for the Saviour's judicial murder.[2]

Attitude of Jewish leaders.

The Jewish environment of the nascent Church has undergone apparently some slight change since the days before the Crucifixion; yet its elements remain the same. The Master at the close of His mission had found Pharisees, Sadducees, and Herodians ranged together in unholy alliance against Him:[3] the Acts shows us these forces still active against His followers. Saul the Pharisee rages like a fiery brand against those of "The Way";[4] but no other Pharisaic persecutor is named.

Herodian party.

Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great, signalised his brief reign (42–4 A.D.) by the murder of an Apostle and the attempted destruction of another: his policy was, in a measure, reversed by his son, Herod Agrippa II, King of Chalcis.[5] But the most constant and bitter opponents of the first Christians in those earliest days are those of the Sadducean party, the official heads of religion.[6]

Pharisees.

The Pharisees, though most justly denounced by the Lord for their hypocrisy and their arrogant and excessive stress on non-essentials,[7] had more in common with the Christians than had either the secularist Sadducees or the time-serving

[1] Acts ii. 47. [2] See, e.g., Mark xiv. 55; xv. 1, 3, 11.
[3] Matt. xxii. 15 *sqq.*, and parallels. [4] Acts xxii. 4.
[5] See below, ch. iv., p. 84.
[6] Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Eglise*, Tom. I, ch. ii.
[7] Matt. xxiii., esp. 8–36.

Herodians. They were at any rate in earnest, and loyal (after their manner) to the Mosaic tradition of which they were the recognised exponents,[1] though they had obscured the proportion of it, overlaying it with irrelevant details. They were zealous for the maintenance of the Temple and the purity of its worship; they had a living if misdirected belief in the Messianic promises of the Old Testament, and they looked for the resurrection of the dead.[2]

Sadducees.

The Sadducees, having no such beliefs or aspirations, were entirely out of sympathy with the Apostles and their message. Attested as the message was by striking "signs" which could not be gainsaid, message and miracles alike were to the high-priestly coterie simply a very embarrassing phenomenon, calculated to impair their influence with the populace and undermine the stability of their position. They set themselves, therefore, to deal with these matters in the most summary manner that remained open to them short of rousing a tumult of popular indignation. The only touch of sympathetic feeling we shall have to record as emanating from the Sanhedrin is the speech of a Pharisee—Saul's master, Gamaliel.[3]

Sadducean persecution.

If the Sadducees are to be understood as having shared the general awe produced by the signs and wonders wrought by the Apostles in the first days, their fear soon gave place to a more bitter feeling. It only required a miracle of unusual significance and publicity to rouse the Apostles' enemies to action and bring matters to a crisis. The healing of the lame

[1] Matt. xxiii. 2.
[2] Acts xxiii. 6 *sqq.*
[3] Acts v. 34; xxii. 3.

beggar at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple by St. Peter and St. John,[1] followed by the bold and persuasive preaching of Jesus by the former, who took the miracle itself as his text,[2] brought down on the Apostles the priests and the captain of the Temple and the Sadducees.[3] They found the two Galileans surrounded by a vast crowd of listeners, who thronged the ancient and noble arcade that flanked the east side of the Temple and was traditionally known as "Solomon's portico."[4] The Apostles were arrested and imprisoned for the night. In the morning they were led before the Sanhedrin, where were assembled, as we are specially told, an imposing group of the High Priest's kindred.[5] Their astonishing courage and self-confidence, backed as it was by the obvious goodwill of the populace, confounded their would-be judges. They were released with a remonstrance and an injunction to silence, towards which St. Peter and St. John took no pains to disguise their uncompromising attitude. "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye. For we cannot but speak the things we have seen and heard."[6]

The return of the released Apostles to the Church, whose numbers had been swelled to five thousand as a consequence of yesterday's events,[7] was the signal for a fresh outburst of enthusiasm. The rhythmic prayer of the assembled believers which breathes thankfulness and courage and confidence in the continued victory of the cause was answered by a fresh outpouring of the Holy Ghost, accompanied by a "shaking" of the place

[1] Acts iii. 1–10. [2] Acts iii. 11–26. [3] Acts iv. 1.
[4] Acts iii. 11. [5] Acts iv. 6. [6] Acts iv. 13–19. [7] Acts iv. 4.

of meeting and fresh symptoms of fraternal spirit among the brethren.[1]

By the accession of Joseph Barnabas, a Cypriot Levite of considerable wealth,[2] the humble community achieved the beginnings of a threefold development. As an owner of property, he was able to contribute liberally to the financial necessities of his adopted brethren: but this is the least significant aspect of the new convert. As a Cypriot, St. Barnabas represented the Jews of the Dispersion. His native tongue was Greek; and his conversion foreshadowed the gathering in of that band of Hellenists which was shortly to lead to fresh developments in Church organisation.[3] Nor can we omit to observe that his native Cyprus is named among the earliest districts evangelised beyond the frontiers of Judaea and Samaria.[4] Finally, we may see in Barnabas the Levite the first-fruits of the sacerdotal harvest—that "great company of the priests" that was soon to be "obedient to the faith."[5]

Accession of Barnabas: its importance.

The sinister incident of the deceit of Ananias and Sapphira, and the summary judgment executed upon them, only increased the prestige of the Apostles, whose "signs and wonders" still attracted vast crowds to Solomon's Portico and produced such an effect that the neighbouring villages sent in their quota of sick and infirm, and the pallets of prostrate sufferers lined the streets, in the hope that St. Peter's shadow, as he passed, might bring healing.[6] The enthusiasm with which the Master had once and again

Ananias and Sapphira.

Outburst of miracles.

[1] Acts iv. 24–35. [2] Acts iv. 36, 37. [3] Acts vi. 1.
[4] Acts xi. 20. [5] Acts vi. 7. [6] Acts v. 12–16.

affected whole neighbourhoods in Galilee and the north[1] is here paralleled in the vicinity of Jerusalem itself. The like scenes which they had witnessed in their Master's train must have returned vividly into the Apostles' memory, and with them, perchance, His promise: "He that believeth on Me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do; because I go to the Father."[2]

Renewed persecution.

And now the leaders of the Sadducean party, the coterie of the High Priest, are once more aroused. The Apostles are arrested and imprisoned. In the night the prison is opened by angelic power, and the prisoners sent forth with fresh injunctions to preach the "words of this Life" to the people in the Temple. The astonished and embarrassed Sanhedrin arrests them again and reiterates feeble injunctions to silence. The Apostles' reply is as before: "We must obey God rather than men." Their enemies, driven to bay, are inclined to use extreme violence. This continual glorification of the Crucified haunts them as a perpetual menace. Gamaliel, a Pharisee, famous as the teacher of Saul of Tarsus, in a speech which from many points of view is full of interest,[3] urges milder counsels. The Apostles are again released—this time with a scourging—and return to their task with renewed vigour, braced by the consciousness that they have been found worthy to suffer for their Master's name.[4]

The next persecution that befell the infant Church

[1] Matt. iv. 24; Mark i. 32–4 and vi. 55, 56.
[2] John xiv. 12.
[3] Acts v. 35–9; cf. above, p. 2.
[4] Acts v. 41, 42.

was far more general in its scope and more momentous in its consequences. A new turn was soon to be given to the preaching of Christ, calculated to exasperate more than ever the irritated spirit of the Jews, and to rally Pharisees, for the moment, to the side of the High Priest.

The Hellenist question.

We have claimed St. Barnabas as representing the first-fruits of the Hellenists. These Greek-speaking Jews of the Dispersion, who figure largely among the pilgrims of Pentecost,[1] had adopted, together with the Greek language current in the lands of their sojourn, something also of Hellenic culture. Though sincerely loyal to their ancestral religion, they tended to look at life in a broader and more tolerant way than did the "Hebrews"—the strict Jews of Palestine, among whom the Pharisees were prominent as the "straitest sect" of all.[2] Some faint shadow of this division between Hellenist and Hebrew is cast over the Church itself, as the original nucleus of purely Hebrew disciples becomes gradually equalled or outnumbered by accessions from the Hellenist body: a process that may in all probability have begun on the Day of Pentecost, if it was not consummated till some three or four years after the Ascension. It is noticeable that when the question arises it is about the *widows* of these "Grecian" Jews, the implication being that we are concerned not with passing pilgrims, but with Hellenists who had settled in the mother city and ended their days there.

The deeply ingrained spirit of jealousy expresses

[1] Two-thirds of the names in Acts ii. 9–11 represent Greek-speaking Jews.

[2] Acts xxvi. 5.

itself characteristically in a financial context. The Hellenist brethren complain that their widows are neglected in the daily distribution.[1] The Apostles by their prompt action apparently admit the existence of a grievance. There had been some ground for complaint: to cope adequately and evenly with the needs of so large a population had become impossible. There had resulted an unconscious favouritism by which the Hebrew widows were the gainers. Ready to listen to reason, as Moses of old to the common-sense advice of Jethro in a somewhat similar case,[2] the Apostles perceive that a further development of functionaries will provide at once for more efficient dealing with the material problems by which they are confronted, and relieve themselves also from over-pressure, setting them free for the exercise of the more spiritual activities which are properly their own. Accordingly seven men are chosen by the people, men with the requisite moral and spiritual qualifications, and are set before the Apostles, who solemnly ordain them with prayer and laying on of hands for the primary purpose of administering the Church's charities. Their names are all Greek ones: Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolas.[3] The last was not even a full Jew, but a proselyte from Antioch. Late tradition draws a more sinister distinction between Nicolas and his colleagues, associating him with the heresy of the Nicolaitans so hotly denounced in the Apocalypse.[4] Stephen, the

Appointment of the Seven.

[1] Acts vi. 1.
[2] Ex. xviii. 14–26.
[3] Acts vi. 3–6.
[4] Rev. ii. 6, 15. See further ch. xvi., p. 310 *sq.*

first named, was apparently the leader of the band. It was the characteristic Hellenist note of his preaching that brought upon him the fury of his opponents. They had become accustomed to the claim that the Jesus Whose death they had compassed a few years before was Messiah and Prince of Life: the fear that "this man's blood" should be wreaked upon them—the curse they had invoked on themselves before Pilate[1] — had become habitual. But Stephen's words cut deeper. After a masterly survey of Hebrew history as leading up to Jesus Christ, he denounces his fanatical listeners as "uncircumcised in heart and ears," turns the Isaianic prophecy "Heaven is My throne" against their idolatrous veneration of the earthly Temple; and accuses them openly of disloyalty to that Law which they had received "as the ordinance of angels."[2]

Stephen's preaching.

With the martyrdom of St. Stephen opens a new chapter in the Church's history, just as his ordination marks a new step in the organisation of her ministry. For with the shedding of the protomartyr's blood fall the first drops of a thunderstorm of persecution, which spread the fertilising influences of the Gospel far and wide, scattering throughout the towns and villages of Palestine refugees who became missionaries of the new faith. The scourge pursued them, even to "foreign cities."[3] Men and women were seized and bound, and carried back to Jerusalem,[4] beaten in the synagogues,[5] and (in some cases) even put to death,[6]

Fruits of Stephen's martyrdom.

[1] Matt. xxvii. 25.
[2] Acts vii. 49–53; Isa. lxvi. 1, 2.
[3] Acts xxvi. 11.
[4] Acts ix. 2, 14.
[5] Acts xxii. 19
[6] Acts xxvi. 10.

every effort being made to induce them to blaspheme their Master's name.[1] But it was too late; the seed had already taken root. The death of Stephen is responsible for even greater things than the spread of the Gospel throughout Palestine. Saul of Tarsus, prominent as a young man among those who did him to death, and thereafter authorised envoy of the priestly persecuting party,[2] never forgot that scene, that angel-face. The blessing invoked by Stephen upon his murderers fell in due time upon the head of Gamaliel's fierce disciple. The Lord Who had appeared to Stephen's dying eyes revealed Himself also to Saul, as he sped with flaming zeal to harry the Church in Damascus. In that blinding flash the Lord "received the spirit" of His persecutor; and in the trance that followed his conversion, as St. Paul himself tells us, the thought of St. Stephen's martyrdom and of his own part in it was prominent in his mind. "And when the blood of Thy martyr Stephen was shed," he sobs, "I also was standing by and kept the raiment of them that slew him."[3] Thus for months—it may be years—after the deed was done, the scene shone clear before his eyes, and there rang in his ears the echo of that last cry. He proclaimed himself the disciple of his earliest victim, and the slave of that victim's Lord.

[1] Acts xxvi. 11. [2] Acts ix. 1, 2; xxvi. 10. [3] Acts xxii. 20.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH IN PALESTINE

THE sure and swift extension of the Church, foreshadowed in several of the Lord's "Parables of the Kingdom," and most emphatically, perhaps, in the figure of the grain of mustard-seed,[1] is more definitely outlined in one of the sayings of the Great Forty Days. Of the majority of those sayings St. Luke has left no specific record: they became, no doubt, merged in the general tradition of the Apostolic Church, reacting as formative principles upon her policy, her doctrine, and her institutions. In one of the few recorded utterances of those days—the last before His ascension—the Lord declares that His followers, after the descent of the Holy Ghost, shall be His "witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judaea and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."[2]

Expansion of primitive Christianity.

This prediction (or injunction) is adopted by the author of the Acts as the ground-plan of his work. There are three fairly defined stages in his narrative, in which the horizon is successively Jerusalem (chaps. i.–vii.), Palestine (viii. 1–xiii. 3), and the world in general (xiii. 4–xxviii. 31). In this last and longest division of the history we are, indeed, twice brought back to Jerusalem: once to the great

Three stages: (1) Jerusalem; (2) Palestine; (3) the world.

[1] Matt. xiii. 31. [2] Acts i. 8.

Council[1] which assembled to discuss and to decide new problems raised by the admission to the Church of large numbers of Gentile converts, and once again with St. Paul on his last momentous visit.[2] Each of these is, however, in the scheme of the book but an episode in the missionary career of the Apostle of the Gentiles, though each contributes something to our knowledge of the characteristics of the Jerusalem Community and of the Church as a whole. St. Paul's own conversion forms, in its turn, an episode in the story of the Palestinian Church, though in a sense it is a cardinal factor in the development.

Spread of the Church beyond Jerusalem.

It will be natural, then, to follow up our brief sketch of the Pentecostal Church at Jerusalem with an account of the spread of the faith in Palestine: while its extension beyond those limits may be considered in detail later on.

The first impulse to a wider range of activity, beyond the immediate vicinity of the Holy City, was given by the "tribulation that arose about Stephen";[3] and so it was that Saul of Tarsus, even before his conversion, was indirectly instrumental in the spread of that faith of which he boasted himself at the time the most strenuous and conscientious of opponents.

Stephen and the Hellenists.

Stephen, the most prominent among the seven officials whose ordination marks the first stage in the evolution of the ecclesiastical hierarchy,[4] threw down the challenge to his fellow-Hellenists resident or sojourning in Jerusalem, arguing with them in their synagogues. Con-

[1] Acts xv. 1–29. [2] Acts xxi. 15–xxiii. 30.
[3] Acts xi. 19; cf. viii. 1, 4.
[4] Acts vi. 1–6. See below, ch. xiv., p. 241.

spicuous among the foreign Jews resident in Jerusalem are certain groups—whether two or three is not quite clear from the narrative—who had synagogues of their own. The *Libertini* (if the true reading be not "Libystins," i.e. Libyans) were probably Jews and proselytes of the freedman class, descendants of the Jews deported to Rome by Pompey some ninety years earlier, in 63 B.C. To their synagogue, we may suppose, would have drifted the "strangers of Rome,"[1] who on great festivals visited the city as pilgrims. The next group (if it is not to be identified with the one just named) is that of the Jews from North Africa, the large and influential colonies in Alexandria and Cyrene. To the Alexandrine group—of which an illustrious member Apollos figures later in the history of St. Paul—St. Stephen himself may have belonged: while that of Cyrene is prominent in the early mission work of the Church, and recalls at once the name of Simon, who bore the Saviour's cross, and his two sons, Alexander and Rufus, whose mention by name in the Gospel implies that they were known in Christian circles.[2] Finally there is a group of Jews of Asia Minor, both those of the Roman province of Asia, where many flourishing churches were soon to be founded, and those of Cilicia (a district more usually grouped with Syria), among whose members figured the redoubtable Saul of Tarsus.

It is significant that with Stephen the scene of the Christian propaganda changes from the Temple to the synagogue. A synagogue had been the place of the

[1] Acts ii. 10.

[2] Mark xv. 21. A Rufus is mentioned in Rom. xvi. 13. See below, ch. x., p. 181, ch. xi., p. 199.

Saviour's first recorded sermon;[1] and these meeting-houses were to be the starting-point for evangelisation in many cities of the Dispersion. The institutions of the synagogue left their mark, as we shall see, both upon the liturgy and upon the organisation of the Church.[2]

The Gospel in the synagogue.

Face to face with foemen in some sense worthy of his steel, Stephen was not the man to hesitate or compromise. His triumphant logic, backed by miraculous signs, drove to exasperation opponents already humiliated by a large defection from the sacerdotal body.[3] They did as the Master's enemies had done in their determination to be rid of him at all costs. They "suborned men which said: We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God." He was accused of speaking against the Temple and (like Jeremiah) predicting its destruction.[4] If this accusation could win credence, their point was gained. The ruling Sadducean party had failed repeatedly to suppress the new teaching, because its votaries had retained, on the whole, the sympathy of the Pharisees and the goodwill of the populace. Such a charge as this would alienate both. Before the Sanhedrin the accusation took a form interesting to us, because, however garbled, it represents obviously the substance of one side of Stephen's teaching. "We have heard him say that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered to us." Such a charge was not calculated to rally a Gamaliel to the side of the accused.

Significance of the opposition to Stephen.

[1] Luke iv. 16–30. [2] See below, p. 242 *sq.*, p. 264.
[3] Acts vi. 7, 8. [4] Acts vi. 11, 13, 14; cf. Jer. xxvi. 10 *sqq.*

All parties in the Sanhedrin opposed a solid front to Stephen; and, when he got in behind their guard with a stinging thrust, fell upon him in merciless fury. To hear themselves called "uncircumcised in heart and ears" was more than they could endure. They stopped their ears, they gnashed their teeth, they rushed upon him. As the vision of his ascended Lord lit up a face that even before had been "as the face of an angel,"[1] the martyr was seized by the grip of a dozen hands and dragged along the narrow streets to be stoned outside the city walls. With words of pardon on his lips that echo his Master's dying prayer,[2] and mark (when compared with the dying words of Zechariah, son of Jehoiada) the contrast between the old spirit and the new,[3] the protomartyr yields up his spirit to the Lord Jesus, and seals his testimony with that blood which was to be the "seed of the Church."[4]

Stephen's martyrdom.

This first taste of blood—only possible because Judaea was for the moment without a Roman procurator[5]—was the signal for a fierce assault upon the members of the Church. The Apostles themselves remained in Jerusalem, unmoved, as ever, by the blasts of persecution: but the mass of the believers withdrew from the city and were scattered throughout Judaea and Samaria, carrying with them that very doctrine which the persecutors desired to extirpate.

The persecution and its consequences.

In Judaea the subsequent narrative incidentally

[1] Acts vi. 15. [2] Luke xxiii. 34.

[3] 2 Chron. xxiv. 22 (First Lesson at Evensong for St. Stephen's Day).

[4] Acts vii. 59, 60. [5] See below, ch. v., p. 83.

shews us bodies of believers at Lydda and Joppa, and a number of unnamed places visited by St. Peter:[1] while the Philistine cities of Gaza and Ashdod are mentioned in connexion with St. Philip;[2] and in Samaria, besides the city of that name and the many Samaritan villages evangelised by St. Peter and St. John,[3] Caesarea on the sea-coast,[4] the residence of the Roman procurator. Beyond the limits of Samaria, on the northern frontier of Palestine, we also find groups of believers at Damascus in Phœnicia, and at Antioch on the Orontes, and even in the neighbouring island of Cyprus. The Jewish converts in the three last-named districts are expressly mentioned as among the fruits of this particular persecution;[5] and the other groups may probably have originated in the same way.

Christian communities in Judaea.

The story of the evangelisation of Samaria is associated with the name of Stephen's colleague Philip "the evangelist," and from St. Luke's narrative we gather all-important details with regard to the original organisation of the Church. Notable among these is the first mention of that rite known to us now as Confirmation, supplementing by the laying on of apostolic hands the gift conferred in baptism by an inferior order of ministers. St. Peter and St. John, despatched by the Apostolic College, journeyed from Jerusalem to Samaria for the express purpose of completing the sacramental work of St. Philip.

The Church spreads to Samaria.

Here also comes upon the scene the celebrated Simon Magus, with whose subsequent history tradition

[1] Acts ix. 32 *sqq.* [2] Acts viii. 26, 40. [3] Acts viii. 4, 25.
[4] Acts viii. 40; x.; xxi. 8 *sqq.* [5] Acts xi. 19.

has been very busy, making him the first of the heresiarchs.[1]

St. Philip's activities were not, however, confined to Samaria. Called southward by a special revelation, he converted and baptized on the desert road between Jerusalem and Gaza a eunuch of Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, and thus flashed the good news to the upper waters of the Nile, beyond the regions represented even by the concourse of the "Dispersed" who had listened to Peter's sermon on the Day of Pentecost. Finally from Ashdod he makes an evangelistic progress up the coast-line towards Caesarea, "preaching the Gospel to all the cities" on the way,[2] including, no doubt, Jamnia, Joppa, and Apollonia. At Caesarea he evidently settled for a time. We find him there, years later, with his four prophetess daughters.[3]

Further activities of Philip.

After an unspecified interval, during which occurred the conversion of the arch-persecutor and the cessation of the storm of persecution,[4] we are told of St. Peter going in circuit through a number of Palestinian villages,[5] including, doubtless, those evangelised by him and St. John on their return journey from Samaria. Wherever he goes he bears with him the power of his risen Master. To the group of "saints" at Lydda he comes and brings sudden healing to an eight-years bed-ridden paralytic with the words: "Aeneas, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole: arise and make thy bed!" An immense impression is created in the neighbourhood, resulting,

St. Peter's Palestinian circuit.

[1] See below, ch. xvi., p. 308 *sq.*
[2] Acts viii. 40.
[3] Acts xxi 8 *sqq.*
[4] Acts ix. 1–31.
[5] Acts ix. 32.

it would seem, in the wholesale conversion of the population of Lydda and Sharon.[1] To Joppa, some ten miles off, whither St. Philip had preceded him, he passes at the earnest entreaty of the "disciples," and works there a still greater wonder, raising to life the dead lady Tabitha whose charitable works had endeared her to the little community. In these acts he carries on the work of his Master, whose words[2] he uses at Lydda, and whose gesture at the raising of Jairus' daughter[3] he repeats at Joppa.

But a new departure was soon to be made and a greater marvel performed at Caesarea in the conversion of the Roman centurion Cornelius and his household.

The Gospel for the Gentiles.

In the incident of the Syro-Phoenician woman in the Gospel we see a foreshadowing of the "Gospel to the Gentiles," but our Lord expressly speaks of it as exceptional in relation to His own ministry.[4] Another of the Saviour's miracles of mercy brings before us a centurion,[5] like Cornelius, devout and munificent, loved and esteemed by the Jewish community of his city, whose faith astonished the Lord Himself, and was made the text of a universalistic prediction.[6] But it is clear from the narrative of the Acts that the full significance of these precedents had not dawned as yet upon the Apostles, nor that of St. Philip's baptism of the eunuch (who may, indeed, have been a circumcised proselyte). St. Peter, certainly, was still unconscious of the wide range of the message, nor did he look for the inclusion of "many from the east and the west"

[1] Acts ix. 33–5.
[2] Mark ii. 11 ; John v. 8.
[3] Mark v. 41 and parallel.
[4] Mark vii. 26 *sqq.*
[5] Matt. viii. 5 *sqq.* ; Luke vii. 2 *sqq.*
[6] Matt. viii. 10 *sqq.*

who were not by inheritance "sons of the kingdom" in the realm of "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." The prophecy of Joel, "all flesh," still meant to him, apparently, all Jewry—Jewry in its world-wide dispersion, near and far, but Jewry still. He had been a party to the ordination of the proselyte Nicolas, but still held the traditional Jewish view that Gentiles, as such, were "unclean," and effectually outside the Covenant. How deeply ingrained was this prejudice in him we may see from his subsequent momentary relapse at Antioch.[1]

But now he was to commit himself to the momentous principle that "to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life."[2]

A vision at noonday as he meditated fasting on the roof of his host's house at Joppa, opened his eyes and prepared him for the breaking down of time-honoured barriers: "What God hath cleansed, make not thou common!"[3] A corresponding revelation instructed Cornelius to send for St. Peter and listen to his message. The Spirit bade the Apostle accede to the foreigner's request. When he arrived at Caesarea mutual explanations brought about a cordial understanding, and during the delivery of the Gospel-message, proclaiming Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah and Judge of all mankind, the phenomena of Pentecost were repeated.

Conversion and baptism of Cornelius.

The whole household of Cornelius became recipients of the Holy Ghost, Who manifested His presence by their ecstatic utterances and ascriptions of praise. Their baptism followed as a matter of course: and

[1] Gal. ii. 11 *sqq.* See below, ch. iv., p. 73.
[2] Acts xi. 18. [3] Acts x. 15.

thus there was added to the Church its first group of Gentile converts. Of Cornelius we are told that he was a centurion of the "Italian Cohort," that is, of one of the auxiliary cohorts recruited from Italian volunteers. The words used about his religious devotion and that of his household imply that (perhaps like the centurion of the Gospel) he was one of that outer ring of adherents to Judaism, the "devout" or "God-fearing" as they were called,[1] who figure prominently in the Acts among the early converts to Christianity. He was, however, uncircumcised, and therefore technically as far outside the Covenant as any among the large majority of his fellow Gentiles, to whom the Jews and their religion were matters of aversion and ridicule.

St. Peter confirmed his fraternal relations with the new-made disciples by accepting of their hospitality. The lesson of his vision, corroborated by the descent of the Spirit upon his converts, emboldened him to take a step that would scandalise the stricter brethren at Jerusalem. On his return he found that the extremists laid stress upon this as though it were the most important—and the most discreditable—aspect of his doings at Caesarea: "Thou wentest in," they exclaimed, "to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them!"[2]

Peter justifies his conduct.

St. Peter thereupon rehearsed the whole matter to the Apostles and brethren, and won from them a response of thanksgiving. Something of the greatness of the step dawned on them. The Church of Jerusalem was, officially, convinced, and the precedent had a

[1] Cf. Acts x. 2, 35; xiii. 16, 26, 50; xvii. 4, 17.
[2] Acts xi. 3.

powerful influence at a later date, though the example of Cornelius' conversion was not to bear fruit at once. The jealousy of the more conservatively Judaistic members hid itself only for a season, remaining to wreak upon Paul the rancour of which Peter had only experienced a taste.

Meanwhile the disciples who had been scattered abroad by the persecution were evangelising Jews even beyond the bounds of Palestine. Phoenicia—the land of Tyre and Sidon—and Coele-Syria, the strip of coast to the north of it, lying on the fringe of the area where Christ Himself had preached in the flesh, and Cyprus, Barnabas' island home, were traversed by these missionaries, who established themselves ultimately in the great Gentile city of Antioch, centre of government, commerce, and culture, which, by its position on the trade route to Assyria and its other natural advantages, had attained the position of one of the first cities of the Empire. Here certain evangelists from Cyprus and Cyrene (among the latter, probably, the Lucius mentioned a little later)[1] took the initiative independently of St. Peter, and perhaps contemporaneously with, or earlier than, his admission of Cornelius, preached, we are told, to the "Greeks." By "Greeks" (the most strongly supported reading in this passage)[2] Gentiles are obviously meant, and probably Gentiles of that "devout" and "God-fearing" class that frequented the Hellenist synagogues. Here the ground proved fertile; and the number of the disciples increased so fast that,

Phoenicia, Coele-Syria, and Antioch.

[1] Acts xiii. 1.

[2] Acts xi. 20. The Vatican MS. (B) has Ἑλληνίστας, but the weight of authority and the sense is in favour of Ἕλληνας, adopted by R.V.

the fame spreading to Jerusalem, the Church thought fit to send Barnabas, a special commissioner, to promote and organise, and perhaps to report upon the work. His genial influence, which may well have been responsible for the conversion of those nameless Cypriot missionaries who had preceded him in the city, attracted still greater numbers, impelling him to fetch his protégé Saul from Tarsus, and they worked together for a whole year, with results of the greatest importance. He who was to be known to posterity as the "Apostle of the Gentiles" *par excellence* became thus associated with a Church which, even before his arrival, numbered a majority of uncircumcised Gentiles among its members. And here in Antioch, where the name "Christian" first arose—cast as a term of ridicule, it would seem, upon the brethren by the witty Antiochenes, celebrated in antiquity as coiners of nicknames—here the Christian Church first began to realise its independence of Judaism. Stephen had died, so Saul would have said a few years ago, for the fact that Jesus should "change the customs which Moses had delivered."[1] There was more truth in that than they had suspected who carried the first martyr to his burial. Antioch was to be the champion of Christian freedom against Judaistic legalism, and at the same time the Mother Church of Gentile Christianity.

[1] Acts vi. 14.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH OF THE CIRCUMCISION

BEFORE we follow out the splendid results of the work of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch on the Orontes, we may turn our steps backward and trace, as briefly as possible, the fortunes of the more conservative Christian community at Jerusalem.

Jerusalem Church out of main current.

We shall find ourselves, so to speak, in a backwater. It is from Antioch that the stream flows onward, growing in breadth and depth and volume till it has fertilised with its living waters the whole of the Mediterranean world.

The influence of the Jerusalem Church upon the world at large is henceforth, in the main, of a negative character. It is by contrast with the ideals that prevail there that the Christian Church universal becomes conscious of its freedom, its independence, its capacity for immeasurable progress and development.

"While the young Church of Antioch," says Dr. Shirley, "had . . . become the source of the apostleship of the Gentiles and the capital of Gentile Christendom, the mother church of Jerusalem continued to be centre of that severe and unbending Hebraism which seems, as a rule, to have marked the converted Pharisee. None indeed desired more

earnestly the conversion of the Gentile world, but they desired it upon condition of a close continuity with the religious past of their nation; they desired that the Gospel should be a more glorious expansion of the Law, giving to its disciples a new strength to observe the divine precepts, a clearer and keener vision of the glory of the divine promises. They looked upon the Mosaic Law as something perfect and unchangeable; upon circumcision as the perpetual rite of admission into covenant with God."[1]

Grounds for conservatism of Jerusalem Church.

The reason for this attitude is not far to seek. The original Apostles were, one and all, Jews of Palestine. Their minds, though uplifted uniquely by personal contact with the Saviour, and infused with ideas of an essentially universal scope,[2] moved ever in a strictly Hebraic environment, at any rate so long as they abode still in the Holy City. The Temple overshadowed their lives: its daily and weekly routine of worship formed part of the texture of their devotional habit. If the unspeakable memories of Passiontide had left any touch of indignation or resentment in the disciples' hearts towards the priestly party and the populace, those feelings, as is clearly shown by the tone of St. Peter's early speeches,[3] had been transfigured by the glorious sequel, and transformed by the Pentecostal Gift into a passionate and yearning pity for those who had ignorantly "killed the Prince of Life." So intimately

[1] *Church in Apostolic Age*, p. 50.

[2] On the "implicit universalism" of Christ's teaching, see Harnack, vol. i., p. 43.

[3] Acts ii. 39; iii. 17, 25, 26.

had the spirit of the Master's dying intercession[1] penetrated the temper of His followers.

Even the friction necessarily caused by the continued hostility of the priestly authorities did not avail to embitter the disciples, nor to turn from them (in the early days) the goodwill of the populace.[2]

It is not surprising, then, that a Church breathing this intensely Hebraic atmosphere, and recruited largely from the Pharisaic school[3] and the Aaronic priesthood,[4] should have lived on such friendly terms with its unconverted neighbours as to be scarcely conscious of the great gulf which separated the present from the past. The Master had, after all, declared that He was come not to destroy the Law but to fulfil it: He had set an example of conformity to ecclesiastical usage, both Levitical and later;[5] and many of His sayings were capable in this environment of an interpretation not unfavourable to Judaizing tendencies. It was only in the wider horizon of Gentile Christianity that the true relation of the Old Covenant to the New could be realised in its right proportion and perspective.

Christianity not yet disentangled from Judaism.

At Pentecost, it is true, many dialects and tendencies were represented by St. Peter's pilgrim audience: but their very presence there, with all it implied of preliminary trouble, danger, and expense, bespeaks in them a special devotion to the "religion of the fathers." There were doubtless many bigots besides Saul of

Polyglot pilgrims conservative.

[1] Luke xxiii. 34.
[2] Acts ii. 47; v. 26, etc.
[3] Acts xv. 5.
[4] Acts vi. 7.
[5] Cf. below, chap. xii., p. 214, and Harnack, vol. i., p. 46, 47 nn.

Tarsus, among those who had been brought up amid the liberalising possibilities of Hellenic culture; and pilgrims, if not invariably fanatical, are essentially votaries of the traditional.

Preaching to them, St. Peter quotes words of Joel which admit of a universalistic application, but (as we have already seen)[1] there is no reason to suppose that either speaker or audience saw in the phrase "all flesh" any wider scope than that which would include proselytes of the Dispersion.

Gradual widening of the horizon.

The crisis which led to the appointment of the Seven, when a growing number of Hellenic Jews of the Dispersion attached themselves to the community, the preaching of Stephen, the evangelisation of Samaria after his martyrdom, and the train of events which led to admission of Cornelius and his household—all these circumstances contributed towards the adoption of a wider outlook, and led up to the still greater venture of the Antiochene community, marked by the conversion of the educated pagan Sergius Paulus,[2] and the momentous decision proclaimed at Antioch in Pisidia: "Lo! we turn to the Gentiles!"[3]

But we can see all along how slowly and hesitatingly the Church of Jerusalem moved. It needed a special vision to convince[4] and to justify[5] St. Peter in his action with regard to Cornelius; and Cornelius after all, if a Gentile by birth and uncircumcised,[6] was already friendly with and highly esteemed by the Jewish community at Caesarea, to whom he had shown himself a

[1] See above, ch. ii., p. 42.
[2] Acts xiii. 7, 8.
[3] Acts xiii. 46.
[4] Acts x. 9 *sqq.*
[5] Acts xi. 4 *sqq.*
[6] Acts xi. 3.

signal benefactor.[1] We are the less astonished, therefore, at the unfortunate relapse into which the Apostle momentarily fell on a subsequent visit to Antioch, when, under the stress of the stricter traditionalism of those "of the circumcision" who "came from James," he belied the principles of his action at Caesarea and declined any longer to eat at the same table with Gentile Christians.[2]

The leaders more liberal.

But St. Peter and St. James, "the Lord's Brother," represent, on the whole, the liberal and progressive tendency in the Jerusalem Church, as we shall see when we come to describe the Apostolic Council of 49 A.D. The ultra-conservative tendency was apparently embodied rather in the rank and file—in the emissaries of James rather than in James himself—and expressed itself in a policy which meant for the Apostle of the Gentiles not a momentary conflict with the "Pillars" of the Church, resulting in a clearer understanding and improved relations, but in a life-long struggle against jealousy, misrepresentation, and antagonistic propaganda on the part of nameless agitators.

Ultra-conservatism of rank and file.

St. Paul's Judaizing opponents.

The Jewish antagonists of St. Paul, whose opposition is recorded by St. Luke in the cities of Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece,[3] were in the first instances, no doubt, pure unconverted Jews, angry that their former champion should be spreading so successfully the faith he had previously persecuted; and no wonder, when they saw

[1] Acts x. 2. [2] Gal. ii. 11 *sqq.*

[3] Acts xiii. 45 and 50; xiv. 2, 5, 19; xvii. 5, 13; xviii. 6, 12 *sqq.*; xx. 3.

a Pharisee at work "dethroning the people and the religion of Israel, tearing the Gospel from its Jewish soil and rooting it in the soil of humanity."[1] But in the Epistles (and conspicuously in the Epistle to the Galatians) we see the Apostle in conflict with the false teaching of emissaries of the Judaistic party in the Christian Church of Jerusalem—self-constituted apostles of a gospel that is no gospel at all.

His fight for Gentile freedom.

In the Epistle just named St. Paul mentions two visits to Jerusalem, three and fourteen years respectively after his conversion, in which he upheld his own position. The former occasion was that of a private stay of a fortnight's duration with St. Peter: the second visit (almost certainly at the time of the Council) was embittered by the presence of spies, suborned, it would seem, by the *intransigeants* to seek evidence of unfaithfulness to tradition both in his conduct and in that of his companions Barnabas and Titus. A bold, uncompromising front was opposed to these doubtful measures; and the chief Apostles, James, Peter, and John—perhaps the only ones then left in Jerusalem—expressed themselves frankly ready to partition the mission-field and devote themselves primarily to the evangelisation of the "Circumcision," recognising the Gentile Apostolate of Barnabas and Paul.[2]

But it is at a subsequent time that St. Paul writes the Epistle in question—some four years afterwards, probably (53 A.D.)—and, as he writes, he still complains of Judaizers who subvert his teaching and challenge his apostleship: in fact, the reactionary tendency remained strong in the Palestinian Church long after

[1] Harnack, i. 57. [2] Gal. i. 18–ii. 10.

St. James and St. Paul had passed away. This tendency marks, though it does not mar, most of the Catholic Epistles in the New Testament, and is still more obvious in such documents as the *Didachê* and the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas*, strongly anti-Judaic though the latter is in another sense.[1]

For us the most important expression of the tendency is that which led to the famous Council of Jerusalem, the first of the ecclesiastical Councils of Christendom. At that point we may now take up the history of the Palestinian Church, and briefly sketch its fortunes to the end of our period, pausing at the moment of the destruction of city and Temple to consider the lessons of that great catastrophe.

The Apostolic Council.

When Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch after their first missionary circuit[2] they doubtless set themselves with all zeal to evangelise their pagan neighbours in the great centre of Hellenic civilisation and international intercourse on the Orontes. The comparative proximity of Antioch to Jerusalem, and the constant intercourse between the two cities, brought members of the Jerusalem Church into frequent contact with a Christian community in which the Gentile element was daily assuming larger proportions. Thus problems were raised somewhat analogous to the racial questions which still perplex a nominally Christian population in America and South Africa to-day: though in the modern case there is not the excuse of long-standing religious prejudice. The rigidly Hebraic Christians could not at once over-

Problems to be solved.

[1] See below, ch xv., p. 295. [2] Acts xiv. 26 *sqq.*

come their traditional abhorrence of familiar intercourse with Gentiles—an abhorrence which amounted no doubt in many cases to a physical repulsion—even though they accepted those Gentiles as "brethren" in Christ. Least of all was such a thing possible in the case of Gentiles who had not submitted to the rite of circumcision. "Uncircumcised" to a Hebrew vaguely suggested a long series of polluting possibilities. The very meals of the uncircumcised, if not directly contaminated by idolatrous associations,[1] were apt to involve direct breaches of the Ceremonial Law, as the eating of things strangled and of blood: while carnal impurity was not unnaturally regarded as a characteristic feature of Gentile life. But undoubtedly the problem of circumcision itself was that of the greatest importance. If, as the emissaries of the reactionary party stoutly maintained,[2] circumcision was an indispensable condition of salvation, St. Paul, who had recently admitted to baptism so many uncircumcised converts, might well fear lest he should prove to "have run, or be running in vain."[3]

It was decided to refer the question to the Apostles and Presbyters at Jerusalem. At this date (*c.* 49 A.D.), if we are to trust a tradition preserved in various forms and consonant with the known facts, the Twelve had ceased to reside, as a body, in the Holy City. An express command of the Lord had detained them there (so the tradition runs) till the completion of the twelfth year after the Ascension. But now some eight or nine years would have passed since their dispersion to their various fields of missionary

[1] 1 Cor. x. 14 *sqq.* [2] Acts xv. 1. [3] Gal. ii. 2.

work. Only Peter and John (as the Epistle to the Galatians implies[1]), and with them James "the Lord's Brother," remained in the vicinity; and John, apparently, took no prominent part in the Council.

The representatives of each side went up to the city, the leaders of the Gentile party being Barnabas and Paul. Their last visit to the city had been on the occasion of the great famine predicted by Agabus,[2] which reached its crisis towards the end of 46 A.D.[3] When the illustrious convert to Judaism, Queen Helena of Adiabene, was bringing succour to her suffering co-religionists,[4] the two Apostles of the Gentiles had brought alms also for their fellow Christians from the newly planted Gentile churches. Doubtless it was remembered in their favour. The decision of the Council was definite and clear-cut. On minor questions, concerned with the ritual of social intercourse, Jewish prejudices were respected: on the main issue the party of freedom and progress was decisively victorious. Never again could circumcision with its attendant obligations be demanded as a necessary condition of entrance into the Church of Christ.

Meeting of the Council.

But even apart from this all-important decision, the description of the first Apostolic Council is full of deep interest. If we would endeavour to picture the scene we cannot do better than employ the words of a recent commentator.[5] "At the upper end of the

[1] Gal. ii. 9. [2] Acts xi. 20.
[3] Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Chronology," pp. 416, 417.
[4] Jos., *Ant.*, XX, ii. 5.
[5] R. B. Rackham, *Acts*, p. 250.

'upper room,'[1] or of some Christian 'synagogue,' sat the apostles and presbyters facing the multitude. In the centre of the semicircle was the chair of St. James, the president of the Church of Jerusalem; on his right were sitting St. Peter and St. John, on his left St. Barnabas and St. Paul, with the other delegates from Antioch."

St. James presides.

The first point to be noticed is that it is not one of the Twelve—St. Peter or St. John—who presides in the assembly, but James. The narrative of the Acts at this point[2] is paralleled in the account, given in a later chapter, of St. Paul's reception by the Church some eight years after. "The day following," says St. Luke, "Paul went in with us unto James, and all the Presbyters were present."[3] It is further corroborated by the phraseology which St. Paul uses in the passage of his letter to the Galatians already quoted—a passage which may probably refer to the occasion of the Council itself. "James, Cephas, and John" is the order in which he there names the recognised "Pillars" of the Church.[4] We cannot but see in this presidency of St. James a remarkable instance of "the principle of local rank and authority in the hierarchy of the Christian Church," such as is familiar to us a generation later under the name of diocesan episcopacy. "Less than an apostle elsewhere, in Jerusalem St. James takes precedence of the very chief of the Twelve."[4]

As for the constitution of the Council, it seems to

[1] Cf. Acts i. 13.
[2] Acts xv. 13, 19.
[3] Acts xxi. 18.
[4] Shirley, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[3] Gal. ii. 9.

have consisted of the Apostles and Presbyters, with whom the laity ("the whole multitude") were associated as audience of the discussion. St. James presides and sums up. The decretal letter, based on his decision, is drawn up in the name of "the Apostles, Presbyters, and Brethren," and the bearers of it chosen and commissioned by "the Apostles and Presbyters with the whole Church." Finally, the decision boldly claims the august authority of the Divine Spirit: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us." [1]

Constitution and procedure of the Council.

In the light of this simple narrative we may notice how very "scriptural" in character were the subsequent Councils of the undivided Church, and may observe, for our comfort, that the highest possible claim may be made for decrees which have been hammered out on the anvil of discussion, in the heated atmosphere of human passion and party spirit. We may notice also another parallel with the Councils of the following centuries in the mingling of temporary with permanent elements in the decrees, and the way in which these were subsequently sifted by the instinct of the Church at large, whose acceptance has always been held essential to the ultimate validity of such decisions.

Parallels with later Councils.

As regards circumcision there was never any further doubt, though the irreconcilables in the Church of Jerusalem continued to behave as though the Council had never met. As to "meats offered to idols," while St. John at the end of the century couples such with "fornication" as a "holding of the teaching of Balaam," [2] St. Paul felt himself at liberty as early as

[1] Acts xv. 6–29. [2] Rev. ii. 14.

56 A.D.—that is, according to the chronology here adopted, less than a decade after the Council—to give special regulations to his Corinthian converts.[1] "Strangled" and "blood" soon lost their literal significance, and in the mouths of the Church's theologians came to be regarded as metaphors, the latter being sometimes interpreted as though it were a condemnation of homicide!

Once more, in view of the many shades of opinion held to-day on various subjects among those who claim to be loyal children of the Church, it is well worth while to note the part played in and after the Council by St. James, St. Peter, and St. Paul as showing how "free play of individual character and even divergence of opinion"[2] may be consistent with even Apostolic loyalty to the common faith.

St. Paul, the advocate of liberty in the Council, shows himself "all things to all men."[3] He is strong enough to judge each case on its merits, to circumcise Timothy,[4] and leave Titus uncircumcised.[5] He throws back upon the conscience of the Corinthians the responsibility of deciding on each occasion their attitude towards idol-meats. Unflinching, where the future of Christianity is concerned, in his stand for a charter of liberty from the ceremonial law, he yields eight years later—when the battle has been won—to James' persuasion and associates himself with Nazarite purification, with unfortunate results to himself.

St. Paul at the Council.

St. Peter, fresh from his private conversations with

[1] 1 Cor. x. 25 *sqq.*
[2] Shirley, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[3] 1 Cor. ix. 22.
[4] Acts xvi. 3.
[5] Gal. ii. 3.

St. Paul, utters in the Council language of more than Pauline vehemence: "Now therefore why tempt ye God that ye should put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But we believe that we shall be saved through the grace of the Lord Jesus, even as they."[1] It is the old Peter of the Gospels, at bottom impetuous, impressionable, swift to veer round repentantly from obstinacy to the opposite pole.[2] It is a retractation surely, and a generous one, of his cowardly attitude at Antioch, when through momentary lack of moral courage he had retired from the table of the uncircumcised brethren and belied his own principles learnt at Caesarea. Clearly St. Paul had brought home to him on that occasion (the winter of 48–9 A.D., just before the Council is the most probable date of the incident at Antioch) the full significance of his own conduct with regard to Cornelius; and St. Peter here "employs to others the argument that had convinced himself."[3] Nor can we fail to notice the "Pauline" tone of his later thought, as evinced in the Epistle written some fifteen years after the Council.

St. Peter at the Council.

St. James, who apparently formulated the Council's decree, is thus in a special sense responsible for the omission of circumcision from its demands. Here, as in his Epistle, he is the Apostle of wisdom, practical and peaceable.[4] Secure in the affections of all parties, he strikes a note of firmness yet of conciliation, clinching from Old Testa-

St. James at the Council.

[1] Acts xv. 10, 11. [2] Cf., e.g., John xiii. 8, 9.

[3] C. H. Turner, in Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Chronology," esp. p. 424 (where Gal. ii. 11 *sqq.* is dated *before* the Council).

[4] James i. 5; iii. 13–18.

ment prophecy the argument which St. Peter had drawn from his own experience, and Barnabas and Paul corroborated from theirs. With a breadth of view and an insight of which many of his Hebraist brethren were incapable, he can see in Amos' prophecy[1] of a Messianic restoration of the glories of the Davidic empire a virtual prediction of the free calling of the Gentiles into the kingdom of David's Lord, and in this calling a part of God's eternal counsel. But he dwells characteristically on the advantage of a weekly promulgation of Mosaic doctrine in the synagogues of the Dispersion,[2] and is careful to include in the terms of the decree a concession to some of the strongest prejudices of the Jew. So, too, when he next comes upon the scene it is to identify himself with those "myriads of Jews who believed" in Christ and yet were "zealous of the Law,"[3] and to urge on St. Paul a marked concession to their prejudices as a just return (it is implied) for the concessions made to the Gentiles at this Council.[4]

The sketch drawn for us by St. Luke, of the three chief actors at the Council, is not only life-like but consistent with the other hints which the New Testament furnishes: while that of St. James has not a few points of contact with the record left by Hegesippus, a Palestinian writer of the second century, of the illustrious Nazarite and ascetic, famous for his austerities and prayers, and loved even by the unbelieving Jews, who called him "the Just" and "the People's Rampart."[5]

But it is time to complete our sketch of the external history of the Palestinian Church.

[1] Acts xv. 15 *sqq.*; Amos ix. 11, 12. [2] Acts xv. 21.
[3] Acts xxi. 20. [4] See Acts xxi. 25. [5] Ap. Eus., *H. E.*, ii. 23.

It is noticeable that the Church's periods of greatest trouble correspond with *interregna*, or moments when the Roman rule in Palestine was temporarily slackened.

External history of Palestinian Church.

The stoning of Stephen represents (according to a probable chronology) an arrogation of authority by the religious leaders of the Jews at a moment when Judaea was temporarily without a procurator, after the disgrace of Pontius Pilate and his summons to Rome, towards the end of A.D. 35.

The accession of Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great, brought with it a second temporary weakening of Roman influence. Agrippa was a favourite of the Emperor Caligula, who, in 37 A.D., gave him the dominions beyond Jordan that had descended to his uncle, Herod Philip, on the first Herod's death in B.C. 4, but had relapsed after Philip's decease (A.D. 34) to the province of Syria. Two years later, in 39 A.D., Agrippa inherited his uncle Antipas' dominions of Galilee, Decapolis, and Peraea, and two years later again (A.D. 41) received in addition from Claudius the Roman province of Judaea. His entrance upon the kingdom seems to have been the signal for the dispersion of the Apostolic band, Peter and John alone of the Twelve remaining in the Holy City.[1] The former kingdom of Herod the Great was for a few years reconstituted; and its monarch, the grandson of him who had bathed Bethlehem in innocent blood in a vain attempt to assassinate the child Jesus, signalised his reign by the first recorded martyrdom of an

The Herods and the Church.

[1] An inference from Acts xii. 2, 3, and 17.

Apostle and the imprisonment of another, a sop to the passions of his Jewish subjects.[1] After his death—a swift retribution, graphically, and independently, described by both St. Luke and Josephus[2]—Judaea became again a Roman province; and so it remained until the increasing turbulence and growing spirit of rebellion brought upon its people the national extinction which the Saviour had foretold.

Agrippa II.

Herod Agrippa II, son of the King just named, though not permitted to inherit his father's dominions,[3] had more than one opportunity of reversing his policy and showing friendliness to the Christian community of Jerusalem. He was a favourite of Claudius, who gave him in the year 50 A.D. the little kingdom of Chalcis in Antilibanus, and conferred on him also a certain power of surveillance of the Temple in Jerusalem with the right of appointing and deposing the High Priest.

It is this Agrippa who showed kindly feeling towards St. Paul when he was tried before the Roman procurator Festus in 59 A.D. And on two later occasions he was enabled to display a similar attitude. The former is connected with the martyrdom of James the Just (61 A.D.), the latter with the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.

St. Paul's last visit.

The narrative of St. Paul's last visit to the city in the spring of 57 A.D.[4] gives us a vivid picture of the state of feeling in Jerusalem at that period. The fanatical tendencies of the rank and file in the Church of the Circumcision are outrun by the more than fanatical spirit of the un-

[1] Acts xii. 1-3. [2] Acts xii. 20-3. Jos., *Ant.* XIX. viii. 2.
[3] Jos., *Ant.*, XIX, ix. 2. [4] Acts xxi. 17 *sqq.*

converted Jews. We hear the first rumblings of that earthquake of turbulence which was, in little more than a decade, to reduce the city to ruins. Under the leadership of St. James, the Judaistic tendencies of the Church of the Circumcision had become intensified and consolidated. The events of recent years — St. Paul's second and third missionary circuits, in which he had penetrated as far as Macedonia and Greece, pursued everywhere by Judaizers—and perhaps still more the tone and teaching of the letters he had written—all this had reacted, it would seem, on the temper of the Mother Church and made it more conservative than ever. The language of the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Corinthians was calculated to scandalise the extremists, and still more that of the letter to the Galatian Churches,[1] written probably in 53 A.D. And now, just recently, he had set forth with calm assurance, in an Epistle to the Church at Rome, the thoughts "presented tumultuously in the letter to the Galatians."[2] If we may suppose that rumours of the purport and argument of the Roman Epistle had preceded the Apostle to Jerusalem, and had been discussed in Jewish-Christian circles before his arrival, we can understand his apprehension and its justification. The presentiment of coming misfortune which had lent so pathetic a tone to his farewell address to the Ephesian presbyters,[3] and had been enforced by the subsequent words of Agabus at Caesarea,[4] were indeed fully justified by the event. St. Paul and his com-

[1] Cf., e.g., 1 Thess. ii. 14–16; 2 Thess. i. 6, 8, 9; 2 Cor. iii. 14 *sqq.*; Gal. *passim*.

[2] Duchesne, *op. cit.* p. 31.

[3] Acts xx. 22–35. [4] Acts xxi. 10 *sqq.*

panions had, indeed, a gracious welcome from the Church at Jerusalem, and their report was received with thanksgiving by St. James and his synod of presbyters: though we may perhaps read, between the lines of the narrative, a certain suspicion of coldness and formality in the congratulations which obviously could not be withheld. The authorities of the Church were not a little nervous as to the effect which the appearance of St. Paul might produce in the city; and their hasty congratulations are quickly merged in cautions and warnings.[1]

It was well known that St. Paul had fierce enemies outside the Church, while not a few of its members more than suspected him. To humour them St. James proposed and St. Paul—perhaps half against his better judgment—assented to a course which brought matters to a crisis. He made himself responsible for the expenses of four Jewish-Christian Nazarites and associated himself with them in the observances of the last seven days of their votive period, shaving his head and joining with them in the customary ritual of purification.[2] Thus engaged, he was found and recognised within the Temple precincts by some of his old enemies, "Jews of Asia," hailing probably from Ephesus: who, by a slight effort of imagination, pictured him as having introduced his Gentile companion Trophimus within the sacred enclosure.[3] The story of the assault made upon him by the fanatical mob, of his protective arrest in the nick of time by the Roman garrison, of his spirited and eloquent speech to the crowd who listened patiently to the story of his conversion—told as it was in their beloved

[1] Acts xxi. 17–20. [2] Acts xxi. 20–6. [3] Acts xi. 27 *sqq.*

mother-tongue—till the hated word "Gentile" fell from his lips, the account of his appearance before the Sanhedrin (the Roman Tribune, Claudias Lysias presiding) and his war-cry there, "A Pharisee!"—the story of his imprisonment in the Castle Antonia and the plot to assassinate him, the hurried night journey under escort to Caesarea, and the two years' imprisonment there, ending with the appeal to Caesar and the voyage to Rome—all this is described for us by St. Luke in his most graphic manner.[1] But we must leave St. Paul for the moment, and pass on to the subsequent history of the Church in that city to which he had said so hurried a farewell.

Martyrdom of James.

Just four years after that wild scene on the steps of the castle, the same vicinity witnessed a more tragic event in the martyrdom of James the Just, whose Judaistic tendencies, though combined with an austere saintliness that won general reverence and admiration, availed not to preserve him from the violence of a fanaticism upon which the restraint of Roman rule had once more been temporarily relaxed. Porcius Festus, the procurator of Judaea, at whose tribunal Paul had made his appeal to Caesar, died, it would seem, in the December of A.D. 60. His successor, Albinus, appointed in the following January, travelled from Rome to his province by way of Alexandria, and did not reach Jerusalem till June, 61 A.D. The interval was, as usual, the enemy's opportunity. The High Priest was Ananus or Annas II, son of the Annas of the Gospels, and the fifth of his children to succeed to the High Priestly office.[2] King Agrippa had set

[1] Acts xxi. 27–xxviii. 16.

[2] Jos., *Ant.*, XX., ix. 1.

him up in place of Joseph ben Cabi, apparently at the time of Festus' death. Ananus had the truculent, overbearing character of his clan; he seized the opportunity to take the law into his own hands and institute a persecution of the hated "Nazarenes." Many of them were stoned to death, says Josephus,[1] by order of the Sanhedrin, and among them James—to the great scandal of the more righteous-minded citizens. The more picturesque account of Hegesippus, preserved for us by Eusebius,[2] speaks of St. James as having been cast from a pinnacle of the Temple, and then done to death with a club; and speaks of his monument as still existing, near the site of the Temple, late in the second century. This happened in Passover-time, and precisely on March 25th of the year 61. Protests were made to Albinus—a deputation being sent to meet him at Alexandria—and also to King Agrippa, who promptly deposed the offending High Priest.

The swift retribution.

But the blood of the righteous was soon to be visited on the devoted city. Eusebius (or his authorities) with the dramatic foreshortening of a retrospect, makes the siege to follow immediately on the martyrdom; and Origen's copy of Josephus apparently traced a causal connexion between the two.[3] As a matter of fact Ananus was to have four successors ere the High Priesthood ceased, but these covered a space of but twice as many years. As the execution of the son of Zebedee was followed by the sudden death of Herod Agrippa I, so too after the death of this other James the doom

[1] *Ant.*, *ut supra*. [2] Eus., *H. E.*, ii. 23.
[3] Eus., *H. E.*, ii. 23; cf. iii. 11.

of his murderers came speedily. By 64 A.D. Judaea was in full rebellion. Among the first victims of the reign of terror was the former High Priest Ananias, son of Nebedaeus, whom St. Paul stigmatised as "Whited Wall." His son Eleazar, by fanatical counsels, had been largely responsible for the final breach with Rome.[1] Caught and butchered as he crouched in an aqueduct vainly attempting to hide from his pursuers, did he recall, one wonders, the prophetic retort of the unjustly smitten Apostle: "God shall smite thee!"

In the autumn of 66 the Roman garrison was massacred, and after an ineffectual attempt on the part of the Legate, Cestius Gallus, to recapture the city, Vespasian appeared in the field, by order of Nero. In 67—perhaps the year of St. Paul's martyrdom at Rome—the general recaptured Galilee. The following year Nero died; and Vespasian returned to Rome, leaving the command in the hands of Titus.

The siege of Jerusalem.

Meanwhile the city suffered those throes and pangs foretold by her Messiah, and described for us in the graphic pages of Josephus. The tyrannical Sadducean rulers got their deserts, and were massacred to a man: fanatics and brigands disputed possession of the Temple, and unnameable atrocities were committed within the city by a population maddened by desperation, fury, and famine: while those whom they ejected were crucified in hundreds, by order of the Roman general, in sight of their brethren.

And now once again the friendly offices of King

[1] Jos., *B. J.*, II, xvii. 2.

Agrippa came into play. The Christian community, mindful of their Lord's injunction,[1] and warned (says the tradition preserved by Eusebius[2]) "by a revelation vouchsafed to approved men there before the war," retired from the city ere the last blows fell, and took refuge within the dominions of the friendly King in the Hellenic city of Pella in Decapolis.

Christians secede to Pella.

The spectacle of that great catastrophe—the ruin of the Jewish State with its capital and sanctuary—must have created an enormous impression on the Church of the Circumcision; and, though the New Testament books have nothing to say of the event, except, as it were, prophetically, it has not failed to leave its mark on the Jewish-Christian literature of the first century.[3] To the Circumcision-Christians it must have brought a real crisis—a crisis for which the Epistle to the Hebrews was not improbably intended to prepare. The catastrophe was obviously a just punishment of the nation for having rejected and crucified the Messiah; and its effect must undoubtedly have been to drive many of the Judaeo-Christians into the arms of their Gentile brethren.[4]

Lessons of the Fall of Jerusalem.

"After the martyrdom of James," says Eusebius, "and the conquest of Jerusalem which immediately followed, it is said that those of the apostles and disciples of the Lord that were still living came together from all directions, with those that were related to the Lord according to

A second Apostolic Council?

[1] Matt. xxiv. 15 *sqq.* and parallels. [2] Eus., *H. E.*, iii. 5.
[3] e.g. Barnabas, ch. iv. and xvi. See below, ch. xv., p. 295.
[4] See Harnack, Vol. I, p. 63.

the flesh (for the majority of them also were still alive), to take counsel as to who was worthy to succeed James. They all with one consent pronounced Symeon, the son of Clopas, of whom the Gospel also makes mention, to be worthy of the episcopal throne of that parish. He was a cousin, as they say, of the Saviour, for Hegesippus records that Clopas was a brother of Joseph."[1]

That the story of the meeting itself comes from Hegesippus is not clear; and, if it be authentic, it must imply an interregnum of some two or three years in the Church of the Circumcision, since James' death was not followed "immediately" by the fall of the city. But Symeon was certainly St. James' successor, and presided over the flock till his own martyrdom under Trajan (*c.* 107 A.D.). A further interest, however, attaches to the circumstances of his election, for we have here, if the tradition is to be trusted, the mention of a second Apostolic Council: a council which must inevitably have taken the opportunity of deliberating on some of the many problems that had arisen since the date of the first council at Jerusalem, some twenty years before.

Prominent among those problems would be that of the settled government of the Church. Christ's promised Advent had been in part fulfilled. He had come and visited with judgment the apostate nation: but the event had disentangled for the believer two hitherto intermingled strains of prediction,[2] and it had become clearer than ever that the expectation of a complete and final

Problems possibly discussed.

[1] Eus., *H. E.*, iii. 11.

[2] e.g. in the discourses of Matt. xxiv. and xxv.

Advent must not interfere with the establishment of the machinery of a settled organisation. None could know "the day nor the hour" when the end should be: but the Church must behave, at any rate, as though there lay before her an indefinitely long sojourn in this world.

The Episcopate.

St. Clement of Rome, writing probably in 94 A.D., some twenty years or more after the time of which we speak, after referring to the Christian ministry in terms of the levitical orders of high priest, priest, and levite, mentions the careful arrangements made by the Apostles for the continuous and peaceful succession of that ministry.[1] It seems therefore not improbable that this second council of the Apostles in 70 or 71 A.D. (if such there were), assembled, as it was, primarily for the purpose of appointing a successor to the chair of St. James, marks a definite point in the development of that threefold ministry which is traditionally connected more especially with the name of St. John,[2] and was certainly in full career before his death.

The Holy Eucharist.

Less convincing, perhaps, but yet not without some reasonable ground, is Dr. Shirley's conjecture[3] that this same council is referred to in a fragment of Irenaeus, where he says that "those who have followed the second ordinances of the Apostles know that the Lord has ordained a new offering in the New Covenant, according to the prophet Malachi."

What more natural than that some pronouncement should have been made upon the nature and meaning

[1] Clem., *Cor.* xlii., xliv. [2] See Eus., *H.E.*, iii. 23.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

of the Holy Eucharist, round which already in 56 A.D. grave abuses had arisen in the Achaian Churches;[1] and that the leaders of the Church should have delivered a message of comfort to the Hebrew Christians now deprived for ever of their Temple sacrifices, assuring them that in the Master's ordinance they had at hand the fulfilment of all their spiritual needs? The application of Malachi's prophecy[2] of a "pure offering in every place" to the Eucharist soon took its place among the commonplaces of Christian interpretation, and appears already in the Jewish-Christian literature of the end of the first century.[3]

However this may be, there can be little doubt that the catastrophe which befell the Holy City and the Temple had an important effect upon the liturgical evolution of the Church in general. The old landmarks were removed, and the absence of material associations lent itself to a reasonable idealisation of ancient ceremonial. Christendom, walking now by faith and not by sight in these matters, was enabled, with the aid of the elaborate symbolism of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to overcome the repulsion resulting from the early Judaistic persecutions and to enter upon her full heritage of ritual and ceremonial worship, grafting upon the forms adopted in the first instance from the synagogue something of the dignity of the Temple worship, caught up into the service of the Eternal High Priest in the pleading of His perfect and unending sacrifice.

Effects of the catastrophe.

The Hellenic city of Pella, temporary refuge of the Church of the Circumcision, must have grown in

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 17. [2] Mal. i. 11.
[3] *Didachê*, see below, ch. xv., p. 297.

prestige through the presence of so august an assembly and have become endeared by holy memories to the refugees from Jerusalem. At any rate they seem to have made no attempt to return after the war.

New Gentile city of Aelia.

It was not till more than sixty years later that Jerusalem became again the seat of a Christian community; and it was a totally changed city which gave its name to the see of later Christian bishops. After the destruction of the city in A.D. 70 the razed ruins became for some sixty years the camp of the Tenth Legion, and in *c.* 130 A.D. Hadrian decided to found upon its site a pagan town dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, and bearing the name of the Emperor's own Aelian Gens. The consequent Jewish rising under Bar-Cochab (132–5) led to the complete expulsion of the Jews from that vicinity, and the Church that grew up in the city of "Aelia Capitolina" had lost its distinctive Judaistic character. Its ruler was, as late as the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.), styled bishop, not of Jerusalem, but of "Aelia," and by the irony of history his see was for a long period dependent on the Metropolitan of Caesarea. Some communities, however, scattered about in the various Palestinian cities and villages, appear to have retained for a couple of centuries the extreme tendencies which the transformed and chastened mother-church had lost. St. Jerome, speaking from personal experience, tells of certain "Ebionites" in Palestine who, "desirous of being Jews and Christians at once, fail to be either."[1]

Lingering on of Judaistic Christianity.

[1] See Pullan, *Church of The Fathers* (in this series), p. 11.

With these communities must be associated, apparently, the Aramaic *Gospel according to the Hebrews* mentioned by Eusebius,[1] and also the *Clementine Homilies* and *Recognitions* and other literature of an erratic and romantic type intended to glorify St. Peter and St. James at the expense of St. Paul. Thus the ultra-Judaistic churches of Palestine prepared material for the Tübingen critics of the nineteenth century, lingering on themselves till in the sixth century they became absorbed (it would seem) in the kindred heresy of Islam.[2] In Islam lives on the spirit of St. Paul's Judaistic persecutors, the fanatics of the Circumcision. But the Hellenic environment of Pella, followed by that of Hadrian's city, had an effect that no personal influence as such could have produced, and brought the Church in Jerusalem itself ultimately into line with its illustrious daughter of Antioch.

[1] Eus., *H.E.*, iii. 25, cf. v. 10. [2] Pullan, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

CHAPTER V

MISSIONS TO THE GENTILES

TO Antioch we return, in the winter of 46–7 A.D. The young Hellenist and Gentile body has already arrived at full consciousness of its corporate life and responsibility. It has collected and sent its alms, by its chosen delegates, to the famine-stricken brethren at Jerusalem. After the return of these delegates, Barnabas and Saul, bringing with them Barnabas' cousin, John Mark, the historian makes a solemn fresh start in his narrative. He enumerates the five leaders of the Antiochene Church, even as in his opening chapter he had enumerated the eleven Apostles at Jerusalem; and then, corresponding to the description of Pentecost in the second chapter, follows a notice of the direct commissioning of Barnabas and Saul by the Holy Ghost.

Antioch starting-point of Gentile missions.

Barnabas heads the list of "prophets and teachers," and Saul concludes it: the other three are Manaen, or Menahem, foster-brother of Herod Antipas, Lucius of Cyrene, not to be confounded with Lucas the historian, but possibly identical with the "kinsman" of St. Paul who sends greetings to the Roman Church,[1] and Symeon Niger, of whom nothing is known, though he may be

[1] Rom. xvi. 21.

together with Lucius, among the "men of Cyprus and Cyrene" who first initiated the work among the "Greeks" in the city. In the spring-time of 47 (or 46) A.D., possibly in preparation for the Paschal Feast, the leaders of the Church were engaged in "liturgies and fasts" when a clear message came to them, recognised as that of the Holy Ghost: "Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them."[1]

From this commission, when the two were "sent forth by the Holy Ghost," dates the beginning of that series of conquests that shifted Christendom's centre of gravity from Jerusalem and Antioch to Ephesus and Rome. The story of the missions round the Mediterranean is, in the main, the story of the life-work of St. Paul. Within a space of ten years (47–57 A.D.) he accomplishes that marvellous series of missionary circuits which ensured the ultimate Christianisation of the entire Roman Empire. Sailing from Seleucia, the port of Antioch, in March, 47, the Apostles land at Salamis in Cyprus, traverse the island, and at Paphos win the first educated Roman convert of whom we have record—Sergius Paulus, the proconsul, whose name an extant inscription still records. After the brief voyage to the Pamphylian coast, they evangelise the Phrygian and Lycaonian districts of the Roman province of Galatia—the Churches, probably, to whom the Epistle to the Galatians was written some six years later—passing successively to Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, and back in reverse order. The Jewish synagogue forms in each case their base of

St. Paul's 1st journey.

[1] Acts xiii. 1, 2.

operations: but Jewish jealousy constantly dogs their steps, rousing opposition and bitter persecution, yet failing to rob them of their work's reward. At Antioch, in Pisidia, Jewish opposition leads to a bold step on the Apostles' part, a definite breach with Judaism. "Seeing ye . . . judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles!"

Returning to Syrian Antioch in August, 49, they are called to answer for their bold advance, and gain their point at the Apostolic Council. Henceforth Jew and Gentile, circumcised and uncircumcised, are equal in the Church of Christ.

St. Paul's 2nd journey.

In the spring of the following year (50 A.D) St. Paul starts off again with Silas, one of the two envoys of the Jerusalem Church who had accompanied Paul and Barnabas when they returned with the Conciliar Letter to Antioch. This time they set out by land, taking the great trade route along the Syrian coast to Cilicia, where St. Paul had spent —and spent, no doubt, with good effect—the four years or so (? 38–43) which intervened between his first visit to Jerusalem and the day when Barnabas sought him out at Tarsus to come and help in the evangelisation of Antioch. Then crossing the Taurus range by the pass known as the Cilician Gates, he struck his old tracks again and revisited Derbe, Lystra (where Timothy joined them), Iconium, and Antioch, delivering everywhere the decrees of the Council. From Antioch he seems to have pushed on direct[1] to the coast at Troas, a tramp of seventeen days. There, came to him that vision of the man of Macedonia, crying: "Come over

[1] Possibly (*North-Galatian Theory*) with an excursion north-east into the heart of Galatia proper. But see below, ch. vii., p. 129.

and help us," which drew him to set foot in Europe. There, too, he seems to have met the "beloved physician," who was to be his faithful companion and biographer and the first historian of the Apostolic Church.[1] In Macedonia he visited successively Neapolis, Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, and Beroea, with very important results, as his Epistles testify.

He sets foot in Europe.

In Greece he visited only the intellectual capital, Athens, and Corinth, the political and commercial capital with its port of Cenchreae. At Corinth his work proved much more telling, and during his long stay there as guest first of Aquila the Jew, and then of Titus Justus, (September, 51, to February, 53) he wrote his two Epistles to the Thessalonians. The return journey in the spring of 53 was made by sea direct to Caesarea, with but a single call, at Ephesus, where he was to spend two full years on his next missionary journey. His object was to be at Jerusalem for the Paschal Feast, and he spent in the Holy City probably the week March 22–9. April saw him at Antioch again, ready to start in the summer on a tour of four years' duration (53, summer, to 57, spring), spent principally in "confirming the churches." The chief fresh ground broken during the eventful two years' stay at Ephesus (December, 53, to March, 56), when the whole province of Asia was more or less evangelised, including the cities of the Lycus Valley, Laodicea, Colossae, and Hierapolis. At this time also the First Epistle to the Corinthians

St. Paul's 3rd journey.

[1] In Acts xvi. 10, immediately after the vision, the use of "we" (1st pers. plur.) begins. Ramsay conjectures that St. Luke *is* the "man of Macedonia."

was written: the Second following in the summer or autumn of 56 from Macedonia, whither the Apostle proceeded by way of Troas. At Corinth itself he seems to have spent the winter of that year, and to have despatched from thence his great Epistle to the Romans. In the spring of 57 he hastens back by sea to Tyre, calling at Miletus for a farewell interview with the Presbyters of Ephesus. From the Palestinian Churches at Ptolemais and Caesarea he received a warm and affectionate welcome, and sped on his way to Jerusalem, arriving in time for Pentecost.

The story of this last eventful visit to the Holy City has already been sketched elsewhere.[1] Its final issue in the appeal to Caesar and consequent voyage to Rome alone concerns us here.

His voyage to Rome.

The voyage to Rome, interesting enough from a biographical point of view and as a study for the nautical expert, throwing fresh and valuable light on the versatile capacity of the narrator and of his hero, has little bearing, in its details, on the history of the Church.

It is doubtful whether the "breaking of bread" with thanksgiving refers to an actual celebration of the Eucharist on board ship, though the word *eucharistése* is employed.[2] One cannot fail to notice in the short account of the three months' sojourn in Melita, St. Paul's literal reliance on the Lord's promise of special protection: "They shall take up serpents . . . ",[3] and the employment of his Apostolic powers of healing

[1] See above, ch. iv., p. 84, 85.

[2] Acts xxvii. 35 (εὐχαρίστησε).

[3] Mark xvi. 18.

upon the sick in the island, which probably (though the narrative does not expressly say so) resulted in the founding of a church there.

The voyage, with its delays and misadventures, seems to have occupied the six months from August 59 A.D. to February in the following year. Landing at last on Italian soil, the Apostle found a Christian community and a welcome at Puteoli, and was gladdened and encouraged on his long tramp to Rome by the arrival of an escort of brethren from the capital at the busy market of Appius so vividly described by Horace.[1] This deputation of the Roman Church had travelled southward forty miles to do him honour, and another group was ready to welcome him at the "Three Taverns," some eight or ten miles further on. Among them, no doubt, were representatives of that group whom he had greeted by letter three years before, and perhaps some familiar faces. The Church which the Apostle found on his arrival, though not strictly Judaistic, was probably composed, in the main, of Jews and proselytes. With St. Paul the Judaistic controversy—already foreshadowed in his Epistle—comes to a head. If his dream of a Roman Empire subjected to Christ is to be accomplished, the Roman Church of all others must be free from the bondage of the Law. At an early stage of his two years' honourable and not very strict imprisonment he felt it necessary to bring matters to a head. He made an appointment with the leaders of the Jewish community, and argued with them from morning till night on the basis of "Moses and the Prophets"; and, failing to convince them, rounded on them as fourteen years before at

St. Paul at Rome.

[1] Horace, *Sat.*, i. 5.

Antioch in Pisidia: "Know that this salvation is sent to the Gentiles, and they will listen."[1]

Here St. Luke leaves us; and the rest of St. Paul's career must be pieced together from scattered hints in his later writings. Four of the Epistles[2] were written during the imprisonment of which St. Luke speaks. From these we can realise that "the prisoner of the Lord" kept up relations with his converts, and still felt the responsibility of "the care of all the churches." From the Letter to the Philippians, to which the "saints of Caesar's household" append their salutations,[3] we can infer something as to the prospects of the Gospel in Rome.[4] From that to Philemon we gather that he expected shortly to be set at liberty and visit the churches in the Lycus Valley.[5] We may place his release, probably, in the year 62, which leaves some five years of further work before his arrest and death in 67 A.D. His long-contemplated visit to Spain,[6] implied in Clement's letter to the Corinthians, may perhaps have been the first care of the liberated Apostle. He would travel either by ship from Ostia to Tarraco (a week's voyage),[7] or by way of Southern Gaul, whither Crescens[8] departed at a later date. In Spain he would find a country intensely Romanised.[9] The First Epistle to Timothy and that to Titus imply

His later journeys.

[1] Acts xxviii. 28.

[2] Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon.

[3] Phil. iv. 22. [4] Phil. i. 12–17.

[5] Philem. 22; cf. Phil. i. 25.

[6] Rom. xv. 24, 28. [7] Harnack, ii. 298.

[8] 2 Tim. iv. 10: the interpretation is equally possible whether Γαλατίαν or Γαλλίαν be read.

[9] Harnack, *loc. cit.*

that from the west he journeyed back to revisit his children in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece: that he went to Crete where he set Titus in charge of the Church,[1] and left Timothy in a similar position at Ephesus;[2] and suggest a route for his last missionary journey—from Miletus and Ephesus to Troas and so to Macedonia, and thence westward to Nicopolis on the coast of Epirus, where he intended to spend the winter of 66–7 A.D.[3] Here he was arrested by Nero's officers—possibly on a belated charge of being implicated in the burning of Rome two years before. During a short second term of imprisonment he wrote his Second Epistle to Timothy. Before the words "I am now ready to be offered" reached Timothy's hands the writer had borne his last witness outside the Ostian gate and had won the "Crown of Righteousness."[4]

His arrest and martyrdom.

When we pass beyond the range of St. Paul's missionary labours, as described by his companion or incidentally referred to by himself, and attempt to trace the journeys of the Twelve and of other evangelists of the first century, we plunge at once into the region of tradition and legend. In one or two cases we seem to be on firm ground. The evidence, for instance, which locates St. John in the neighbourhood of Ephesus and St. Peter at Rome is early and comparatively strong. In other cases, like those of the Apostles Matthew and Matthias, Philip the Apostle and Philip the Evangelist, the earliest evidence suffers, apparently, from an

Missionary labours of the Twelve.

[1] Titus i. 5. [2] 1 Tim. i. 3.
[3] 1 Tim. i. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 13, 20; Titus iii. 12.
[4] 2 Tim. iv. 8.

almost inevitable confusion of the names, as is also the case with Thaddaeus, whom Eusebius is now thought to have confounded with a later missionary, Addai. Moreover, as the majority of the traditions are preserved for the most part in heretical documents of a romantic tendency, we can only receive them with a tempered and cautious gratitude in default of more serious testimony.

North and Central Asia Minor.

For Asia Minor we have perhaps the strongest evidence. The second-century *Acts of Andrew* place the sphere of that Apostle's labour to the north of St. Paul's sphere, alike in Asia Minor and in the Balkan Peninsula. Amisus in Pontus and Sinope in Paphlagonia, both on the coast of the Black Sea, are among the cities which claim him as their Apostle; and with them—to the north, again, of St. Paul's Church at Troas—two cities facing one another on the Sea of Marmora, Nicomedia and Byzantium, both to be famous in the days of the first Christian emperor. St. Andrew is also said to have evangelised Thrace, to the north-east of St. Paul's Macedonian missions. The labours of the first called of the Apostles would thus have formed, in those regions, a complement to those of him who had been the last to see the Lord. Origen, in the third century, attributes to St. Andrew missions among the Scythians—tribes scattered along the north of the Euxine, between the Danube and the Caspian. If so, he probably passed northwards from Thrace through Moesia Inferior. His martyrdom among the "Achaians" has been thought to refer not to Greece but to a tribe on the east coast of the Euxine.

Saint Andrew.

Pontus and Bithynia on the Black Sea coast are mentioned, it will be remembered, in the Epistle of Andrew's greater brother, together with Cappadocia (a central district apparently untouched by St. Paul), Galatia, and Asia (the Roman province of that name). It is to the churches of these provinces, "the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion"—perhaps Christians of the Circumcision—that the letter is addressed.

The recipients of *1 Peter*.

There is, however, no trustworthy tradition that St. Peter ever worked outside Palestine, save at Antioch in Syria and at Rome (which is almost certainly the "Babylon" of the Epistle).[1] Hence it has been suggested that Silvanus, "by" whom the letter bespeaks itself "written," is the link between the Apostle and the regions addressed. Assuming identity of this Silvanus with the "Silas" of the Acts and the Silvanus of St. Paul's Epistles, we may picture him as pushing on in later years—perhaps when his former companion was a prisoner at Caesarea or at Rome—and evangelising districts to the north of those which they had traversed together in the "second missionary journey." Tradition makes him end his days at Corinth, as bishop of the city, where he had joined St. Paul after the parting at Berea and ably seconded his preaching.[2]

Silvanus.

There is some ground for crediting St. Bartholomew with work in Asia Minor. One legend assigns to him missions in Lycaonia, another in Bosporus and Armenia Magna. It is significant that these districts were all connected with the dynasty of King Polemon, and that the tradition which

St. Bartholomew.

[1] 1 Peter v. 13. [2] 2 Cor. i. 19.

makes Bartholomew preach in India mentions a King Polemios there.[1]

When we pass to the Roman province of Asia we have more evidence to go upon. There is strong testimony, as we have said, to the residence of St. John at Ephesus after his release from Patmos on the death of Domitian, 96 A.D.[2] And there and in the neighbourhood he seems to have spent the last years of his long life, ruling and organising the "Seven Churches" of Asia, to which he addresses the Epistles of the Apocalypse.[3] It is noticeable that of these only two, Ephesus and Laodicea, are known to have any direct connexion with the missions of St. Paul: though the whole of the province is described as influenced by his two years' sojourn in the capital (December, 53–March, 56 A.D.), while Thyatira is the native town of his influential convert Lydia. At Ephesus, too, is probably to be located the activity of Aristion, "the disciple of the Lord," and of a certain "Elder (or Presbyter) John," both mentioned by Papias,[4] to the latter of whom rather than to the son of Zebedee some writers would assign the Johannine writings of the New Testament.

Province of Asia.

St. John.

Aristion and John the Elder.

Of other churches in the province, Hierapolis in the Lycus Valley[5] is by tradition the residence of the Apostle Philip's later years; and his namesake Philip

[1] Ramsay, in Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Pontus."
[2] See further below, ch. viii., p. 150.
[3] Rev. ii., iii.
[4] Ap. Eus., *H.E.*, iii. 39.
[5] Cf. Col. iv. 13.

the Evangelist, though sometimes placed also at Hierapolis, is more probably to be located at Tralles on the great east road near Ephesus. We may presume that he and his family left Caesarea[1] on the outbreak of the war in 65 A.D. The Apostle Philip before settling in Hierapolis is said to have carried the Gospel to Lydia and Galatia and even to the Scythians.

Philip Apostle and Philip Evangelist.

As regards missions in the Balkan Peninsula, we have already spoken of the supposed evangelisation of Thrace by St. Andrew. The tradition which places that Apostle's martyrdom in Achaia may be regarded as somewhat doubtful, as also that which brings St. Philip the Apostle to Athens and Silas to Corinth. What is certain is that in founding flourishing churches at Philippi, Thessalonica, and Corinth, St. Paul had planted Christianity firmly in Grecian soil. It may well be, however, that further evangelisation was sorely needed in the intellectual capital of Hellas.

Balkan Peninsula.

Of missions to the East there is satisfactory evidence in general, though the specific details are somewhat elusive. To Arabia, St. Paul says he betook himself immediately after his conversion; and the context suggests that he preached there.[2] Seed may have been sown by some of the "Arabian" pilgrims who had heard St. Peter's Pentecostal sermon.[3] No less than six of the Twelve are connected by earlier or later tradition with the evangelisation of the Orient, from Edessa, where the great eastern trade routes from Asia Minor and Syria unite, to

Missions to the East.

Attributed to the Twelve.

[1] Acts xxi. 8 *sqq.* [2] Gal. i. 16, 17. [3] Acts ii. 11.

Parthia, Persia, and India. With the last-named country are associated, more or less hazardously, the names of St. Matthew, St. Bartholomew, and St. Thomas. The name of Thomas still persists in Malabar, though the identity of the Apostle of India with him of the New Testament is far from certain. With Persia is connected, by a very doubtful tradition, the name of James the son of Alphaeus; with Parthia, Matthew, Philip, and Thomas; with Edessa, Thaddaeus (a confusion, perhaps, as we have hinted, with the Syriac name Addai) and, more probably, St. Thomas, who is said to have been buried there. It is certain that the tomb of an Apostolic missionary was early shown at Edessa, but whether it was the tomb of Thomas, Thaddaeus, or of Jude is not so clear.

Ethiopia.

An Ethiopian mission is attributed both to St. Matthew and to St. Matthias, suggesting here also a confusion of names: yet, apart from a special visit of a member of the Apostolic College, we may feel sure that Christianity had reached the kingdom of Candace[1] even before the Twelve had dispersed on their world-wide missions. Lower Egypt is by tradition associated with St. Mark; and Alexandria was certainly in constant communication alike with Cyprus where St. Luke's narrative leaves St. Mark, and with Rome where his presence is implied alike in Petrine and in Pauline writings.[2] If we add the known presence of active converts in Cyrenaica and assume that St. Paul journeying to Spain touched at some port of Southern Gaul, where there were certainly flourishing

Summary.

[1] Cf. Acts viii. 27.

[2] Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11; 1 Peter v. 13.

churches, at Vienne and Lyons, by the middle of the second century,[1] we shall see how widely Apostolic Christianity had spread her nets. Along the whole northern coast of the Mediterranean and half the south coast there were groups of those who named the name of Christ. At Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch, and Alexandria, the great centres of government, of culture, and of commerce, the cross was firmly planted. Three parts of the Euxine coast and practically the whole of Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor had been penetrated; while eastward beyond the confines of the Roman Empire the disciples of Him Who was "born King of the Jews" had reversed the journey of the pilgrim Magi, and carried their message of peace across the deserts towards the rising sun.

[1] See below, ch. x., pp. 187, 188.

CHAPTER VI

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY: THE LEVANT

THE first group of Gentile churches which we have to consider is one for which, unfortunately, no epistolary materials are left us. For the study of the Galatian churches we have the Epistle which bears their name; for those of "Asia" we have those addressed to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon. The two Epistles to the Thessalonians and that to the Philippians throw light on the conditions of Christian life in Macedonia, and the two to the Corinthians are rich in material for the study of primitive Achaian Christianity; while the Epistle to the Romans, though written before St. Paul had ever visited the city, furnishes interesting details as to the composition of the Christian community there in the year 56 A.D.

No epistolary materials for this group.

But if for Syria, Cilicia, and Cyprus, such materials are lacking, we have the compensating advantage of a fullness of detail in the narrative about Antioch which goes far to corroborate the tradition connecting the historian of the *Acts* with that city.[1] Cyprus and Cilicia are not, perhaps, so fully treated as we might have hoped in the case of the birthplaces of Barnabas and Paul.

[1] Eus., *H. E.*, iii. 4. He "was of Antiochene parentage."

Phoenicia and Coele-Syria—the strip of coast extending from Mount Carmel northwards to Antioch—are closely connected geographically, historically, and commercially with both Cyprus and Cilicia. Syria, Cilicia, and Phoenicia had been, in fact, at one time united in a single province by Augustus (*c.* 27 A.D.). Cilicia is grouped with Syria by St. Luke, and quite rightly. Close relations between the two countries were rendered inevitable by their proximity, the racial affinity of their population, and the ease of access afforded by the trade route round the north-east bend of the Levantine coast. The pass called the "Syrian Gates," between Syria and Cilicia, mounts to no more than 1980 feet: whereas Cilicia was cut off from its neighbours to the north and west by the lofty Taurus range, which offered no easier pass than the "Cilician Gates" at an altitude of 4300 feet. Antioch itself had long exercised a strong and steady influence upon Cilicia, so much so that at the end of the first century (under Domitian or Trajan) we have record that the Diet of Cilicia actually met in the Syrian capital. Similarly the island of Cyprus, lying upon the base of the triangle, of which the Syrian and Cilician coasts form the two sides, and within very easy sailing distance alike of Seleucia the port of Antioch and of Tarsus the Cilician capital, belongs historically, geographically, and commercially to the same region: while the constant intercourse which she maintained by sea with Alexandria served to link this Levantine group of churches with those of Egypt, Africa, and the West.

These regions closely inter-related.

The missionary relations of Cyprus with the main-

land were reciprocal, as were those of Syria with Cilicia. It was by Cypriot and Cyrenaic missionaries that the Greeks of Antioch were first evangelised, and the first great organiser of the Gentile Church on the Orontes was himself a Cypriot, Barnabas, who associated with himself the Cilician, Saul of Tarsus; while the first district attacked by the two when sent forth by the Antiochene Church was Cyprus, the Cilician churches being "confirmed" by a subsequent mission from the same city.

Phoenicia—the region of Tyre and Sidon—and Syria had both been prepared, to some extent, for the Gospel by the fame of the Lord's words and works wrought in their neighbourhood.

Phoenicia.

Phoenicia is among the regions to which the Gospel spread earliest after Stephen's martyrdom. A few years later we hear of a progress made through the country by St. Paul and St. Barnabas, on their way from Antioch to Jerusalem (49 A.D.), when the Phoenician Christians listened with interest to the results of their recent success among the Gentiles in Cyprus, and in the Phrygian and Lycaonian districts of Asia Minor. Some eight and ten years later definite Christian communities are spoken of at Ptolemais, Tyre, and Sidon. Three other places in Phoenicia are named in the *Clementine Homilies* (second century). Tyre, where the ancient trade in purple dye revived under the Empire, was far the most flourishing city of the region, and its church soon attained the first place in Phoenicia. Already in the Acts it is accorded a longer and more detailed notice than either Ptolemais or Sidon receives. The picturesque and pathetic narrative of St. Paul's visit in 57, draws for us a

picture of a fervent and spiritual group of "disciples" in which were numbered entire families, "with wives and children." Though administratively attached to the province of Syria, Phoenicia seems in Church matters to have been, in later centuries, dependent on Palestine, and its ecclesiastical capital, Tyre, or Caesarea.

Turning to Syria; we have already had occasion to notice the significance of Antioch as the Mother-Church of Gentile Christendom. Materially Antioch was the greatest city of the East and the third city in the Empire: its importance in the history of Christianity is even greater still. Its population, preponderatingly Syrian, had yet a large Greek element intermixed; and the Greek language prevailed within the city, except in the lowest strata of society where Syriac was spoken. Among the Greek-speaking population was a flourishing colony of Hellenist Jews. Seleucus, when he built the city in 300 B.C., had made the Jews citizens of his capital. The Jewish community had important privileges, including that of having their own governor or "ethnarch," who was exempt from the jurisdiction of the other civil governors. Josephus speaks of their synagogue as being magnificently adorned; and that partly with spoils taken from the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes and restored to the Jews by his successors. Hither were attracted (he adds) a large number of Greeks, and numerous proselytes were made and assimilated in a special way to their own body. Antioch was a place where Greek and Hebrew currents mingled with greater facility perhaps than even at Alexandria; and this is the secret of its importance to Christen-

Syria: Antioch.

dom. Thus it was the natural starting-point for the evangelising of the Gentile world, the nursery where the Church of the Uncircumcision first grew to consciousness and began to realise its independence. Here were fought out the first decisive battles of Gentile-Christian freedom: here, in the city famous three centuries later (in the days of Julian the Apostate) for its nicknames and its humorous literature, arose that name of "Christian" which was to be the glory of the human race. If applied originally in ridicule by the pagans, it at any rate bears witness to a serious fact, namely, that the distinction between Jews and Christians, which official Rome took so long to draw, was already clear to the wags of Antioch some fifteen years after Pentecost. Antioch, too, has the distinction of one of the first recorded church buildings. There was still standing, as St. Chrysostom testifies, in the fourth century a Christian Church whose continuity could be traced back to Apostolic times.

Nursery of Gentile Christianity.

Of the organising work of St. Barnabas and St. Paul during the twelve months (? 45–6 A.D.) in which they laboured together at Antioch we have already spoken. There is some ground for supposing that here, as at Samaria, the mission of a humbler emissary of the Church (for it must be remembered that Barnabas is not yet styled "Apostle") was followed by a confirmatory visit by one of the Twelve.

Eusebius in his chronicle records a tradition which, though involving in its present form several improbabilities, may perhaps be interpreted as meaning that St. Peter had a hand in founding the Church of Antioch twenty (or, accord-

St. Peter at Antioch (?)

ing to another version, twenty-five) years before his martyrdom. The event is placed by Eusebius in the third year of Caligula (39-40 A.D.). If we boldly transfer it to the third year of Claudius (43-4 A.D.) some at least of the difficulties are removed. The visit would then fall in the year 44, shortly after the Apostle's release from prison, when the narrative tells us, rather mysteriously, that he "departed" from Jerusalem "and went to another place"; and possibly during the period when Barnabas, having initiated the forward movement, was absent in Cilicia, seeking for Saul. But in the light of St. Peter's visit mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians—a visit which we have placed in the winter of 48–9 A.D.—Eusebius' expression would seem to need some modification: the "Founder" of the Church is there rebuked and treated rather as an intruder. It is possible, after all, that the story of St. Peter's Antiochene episcopate, though early and widely spread, and dating (it would appear) from the second century, may be, like the story of a great Apostolic council held there, a mode of "expressing its Church consciousness" adopted naively by a community that knew itself second to none in importance. That St. Peter figured there (though not in a very glorious rôle), and that a matter of primary importance was discussed and decided there by Apostles (though not in solemn council), we have St. Paul's own testimony to assure us.[1]

Antioch retained for centuries its illustrious place in Christendom. Euodius (whose appointment is in

[1] Gal. ii. 11-14; Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Peter," p. 768; Harnack, ii. 125.

various versions of Eusebius' chronicle dated variously in 42–3 and 44–5 A.D.)[1] was probably placed as bishop of Antioch by Apostolic hands, since his successor was martyred only ten or eleven years after St. John's death. Ignatius, "the second bishop of Antioch," as Origen calls him, "after the blessed Peter,"[2] enhanced the glory of his see by his writings and the witness of his blood. From his letters (especially that to Smyrna) we may gather something of the flourishing state of the Church in the first decade of the second century, even after a period of persecution. Its central and commanding position is indicated by the range of Ignatius' correspondence, which implies intercourse not only with the whole of "Asia" but also with Rome.[3]

The glories of Antioch.

Through St. Ignatius, Antioch is traditionally responsible for a stimulus to the development of Church music: while in the literary and theological sphere the saint had many illustrious successors, from Lucian the biblical scholar to Chrysostom the exegete and preacher. In theology and exegesis the Antiochene school occupied a mediating position in the Catholic Church; and Antioch mediated also between the Greek-speaking west and the Syriac-speaking east, even as in the first days it had played the rôle of mediator between Judaistic and Gentile Christianity. All through the early centuries her missionary originality gave Antioch a primary importance. Her See was so really a "centre" of Church life to all around, that it

Antioch as mediator.

[1] Hastings, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Hom.*, vi. in Luc. (Lom., v., p. 104).

[3] On Ignatius' Epistles, see below, pp. 160, 289 *sq.*

became the unconscious scene of the development of the metropolitical and patriarchal system of Church government. The horizon and effective power of the Antiochene bishop soon extended as far as Mesopotamia and Persia, Armenia and Georgia; and, in the third century, his alliance was courted on political grounds by Palmyra and by Rome.[1]

The rest of Syria.

Outside the gates of Antioch one passed at once into an entirely different atmosphere—as from the Italian-speaking cities of the old Venetian dominion that fringe the Dalmatian coast one passes at once into a Slav-speaking hinterland. Syria, apart from Hellenic Antioch, spoke Syriac. The Syrian churches are distinguished from Antioch already in 49 A.D.[2] And, as a matter of fact, the surrounding country was less directly influenced by Antioch than were more distant centres. Still, Ignatius in 110 A.D.[3] speaks of neighbouring churches with bishops of their own; and Syria sent to the Council of Nicaea twenty-two bishops, whose distribution shows—what other contemporary evidence makes clear—that, by the beginning of the fourth century, Christianity had acquired a strong and uniform hold over the whole of Syria, town and country alike.

Cyprus: its antecedents.

In Cyprus, as at Antioch, Jews abounded, and so the way was open for Christian propaganda. In politics the island was intimately connected with the fortunes of the mainland. Annexed successively by Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome, it was erected into a separate province by Augustus, and governed at first

[1] Harnack, ii., p. 133.
[2] Acts xv. 23. [3] Ign., *ad Phil.*, x.

directly by a propraetor: but afterwards (B.C. 22) he transferred it to the Senate, who appointed their proconsul. Later still, in 117 A.D., it was restored to the emperor. It is one of the many marks of St. Luke's accuracy, and of the contemporary character of his record, that he rightly designates the governor in 47 A.D. "proconsul."[1]

Its natural features.

The island, whose natural features resemble those of Palestine, was rich in copper and in corn, and carried on a flourishing export trade with Syria, Asia Minor, and other districts. Salamis—its site is three miles from the modern Famagusta—the landing-place of Barnabas and Saul, was the largest town, though not the seat of government. It had an excellent harbour (now silted up), and a constant exchange of commerce with Seleucia, the port of Antioch. A large Jewish population was settled there—St. Luke incidentally mentions the fact that there was more than one synagogue[2]

St. Paul in Cyprus.

—attracted, no doubt, partly by the fact that the neighbouring copper mines were farmed by Herod the Great.[3] After preaching in Salamis, the Apostles apparently took the inland road right through the island (a four days' journey) to Paphos. No record is left of their preaching in the interior: but it is possible that they may have originated among other churches that of Trimithus, which was afterwards, with Paphos and Salamis, represented at Nicaea. The brief record of their visit to Paphos marks an important stage in the progress

[1] Acts xiii. 7, *ἀνθύπατος*.
[2] Acts xiii. 5.
[3] Jos., *Ant.*, XVI, iv. 5.

of Christianity. Sergius Paulus, the proconsul whom they converted, is mentioned in an extant inscription, which, however, is undated. Other inscriptions make it probable that he was there in 47 A.D., a year in other respects likely for the Apostles' visit.[1] Paulus was evidently a man with some pretensions to culture—he has a Magian in his entourage—and it seems probable that he is to be identified with one whom Pliny quotes as an authority on natural history. Thus, in his person, Christendom recruited a representative of science and education and a Roman official of high rank. The distinction thus gained is likely to have reacted on Rome itself: on the local Church it was bound to have great influence. Nor did the Cypriot Church lose the advantage thus secured. The island was able quite early to maintain no fewer than thirteen bishoprics, and in the fourth century it was erected into an autonomous patriarchate,[2] on the strength of the discovery of St. Matthew's Gospel in the reputed tomb of St. Barnabas.

Cilicia.

Of Christianity in Cilicia, we have practically no detailed information for the first three centuries: though the fact that it was St. Paul's native province, and the intellectual and material importance of its capital, Tarsus, make it certain that Cilicia will have played no mean part in the expansion of Christianity. St. Luke implies in more than one place that there were Cilician "churches" apart from Tarsus itself:[3] but on Tarsus the political capital,

[1] See Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Chronology," pp. 417, 421.

[2] The patriarch of Cyprus still retains the privilege of signing his name in red ink!

[3] Acts xv. 23, 41.

and no doubt from the first the ecclesiastical capital of Cilicia—though its metropolitan dignity is first clearly to be inferred in the middle of the third century[1]—the little knowledge we have is focussed. This city achieved by force of its natural advantages an enormous influence on the surrounding districts: while its "university" rivalled, if it did not excel, in importance those of Athens and Alexandria. For us its supreme importance lies in the fact that it produced St. Paul.[2]

Importance of Tarsus.

A good and safe harbour, formed by the widening of the Cydnus into a lagoon near its mouth, and a commanding position in a fertile plain on the great trade route between the important passes of the "Syrian" and "Cilician Gate," made it a meeting-place between Asia Minor and Assyria, and between them and the world in general. Tarsus was essentially a Greek city, with a select timocratic franchise; and, in St. Paul's time, had been governed for two generations by Stoic philosophers, first by Athenodorus, Augustus' tutor and protégé, and then by Nestor, to whom Saul may have listened in his boyhood. Yet all the time it retained a decidedly Oriental atmosphere, inherited from the days of its native kings and its Persian satraps and fostered by its proximity to Syria.[3]

The fact that, in 49 A.D., "brethren" of Cilicia are coupled with those of Antioch and Syria in the superscription of the decretal letter from Jerusalem,[4]

[1] See Eus., *H. E.*, vi. 46.
[2] Acts ix. 11; xxi. 37; xxii. 3.
[3] See Ramsay, in Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Tarsus."
[4] Acts xv. 23.

shows how early Christianity had obtained a footing; and when, in the following spring, Paul and Silas passed through Cilicia, it was to "confirm" churches previously founded. St. Paul must have been active there in the years (? 38–43) which followed his first visit to Jerusalem; and Barnabas, when he journeyed to Tarsus in quest of him, may have left the mark of his earnest and genial personality.[1] Nor is it fanciful to suppose that earlier still some tentative beginnings of evangelisation had been made among the Cilician Jews, in whose synagogue at Jerusalem Stephen's preaching had made so great an impression.[2]

[1] Gal. i. 21; cf. Acts ix. 30; xi. 24, 25.
[2] Acts vi. 9.

CHAPTER VII

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY: ASIA MINOR

ASIA MINOR was, during the first three centuries, the Christian country *par excellence*, and is the true mother of Constantinopolitan Christianity.[1] Here the Church subdued paganism by a slow and steady absorption, its successes assured partly by the nature of the soil, partly by the eminent character of its first representatives and founders. Besides Paul, Barnabas, and Silas, and Paul's lieutenants, Timothy, Titus, Tychicus, Trophimus, and Epaphroditus, the Church in Asia Minor numbers among its first missionaries and organisers the Apostles John and Philip and, it may be, also St. Andrew, Philip the Evangelist, John "the Presbyter," and Aristion, "disciple of the Lord."[2] And the soil had been specially prepared for these sowers. On the one hand, Hellenism assumed here a form peculiarly susceptible to Christian influence; and, even where it mingled in strange ways with paganism, produced a belief in the "Most High God" which opened the door for Christianity. The zealous Jews of Asia, who did their best to make St. Paul's life a burden to him, had

Asia Minor first thoroughly Christianised.

Its eminent missionaries.

Special preparation of the soil.

[1] Cf. Harnack, ii. 182 *sqq.*

[2] See above, ch. v., p. 106, and below, ch. viii., p. 150 *sq.*

unconsciously done much to prepare an entrance for his teaching into many a pagan heart. On the other hand, some districts offered an absolutely virgin soil. And all through the great peninsula the general breakdown of local traditions under the Roman imperial rule, the absence of any one strong national sentiment or national religion, told in favour of the new teaching. Moreover, the pagan attempt to do what Christianity alone could accomplish, and bind together the congeries of alien tribes and races with a common religious bond—the highly organised institution of emperor-worship, which played no small part in the Roman pacification of Asia Minor, while it led to bloody strife for many years to come—(is it for this that the Angel of the Church of Pergamos is said to "dwell" where Satan's throne is?[1])—contributed also its share to the preparation of the soil. Some say it furnished a model for certain details of the Church's organisation. At any rate, it is striking to find St. Paul, in his encyclical letter to the Asiatic churches, applying to the Redeemer the language of "imperial worship."[2]

Province of Asia stands by itself.

It is in the province of Asia,[3] that large and flourishing province which held a westernmost place in the sub-continent, that the interest centres most intensely. Here, apart from early and trustworthy tradition, we have within the New Testament itself the threefold witness of St. Luke, St. Paul, and St. John. For no other district is the evidence so full and strong: though for the southern portion of the extensive province of Galatia (according to the view which may

[1] Rev. ii. 13. [2] Eph. ii. 14. [3] See next chapter.

now be said to hold the field) we are justified in looking for illustration from the Epistle to the Galatians, as well as to St. Luke's narrative of three successive missionary tours of St. Paul.[1]

Other provinces: Pamphylia.

Comparatively little first-century evidence has come down to us about the other provinces bordering upon Galatia—Pamphylia on the south, Cappadocia on the east, Pontus and Bithynia on the north. With these we will deal briefly first, and then pass on to Galatia and to Asia. Pamphylia, where St. Paul and St. Barnabas landed after their tour through Cyprus, is an isolated strip of coastland, dominated and encircled on north, east, and west by the lofty ranges of Mount Taurus. A low-lying and fertile but enervating and somewhat malarious plain, it was not adapted to the support of a vigorous population. Taurus cut it off from easy communication with the rest of the world. Its native ports and chief towns, Perga or Pergê to the west, and Sidê eastward on the Cilicia border, were simply points of export for home-grown products and for those of the more accessible Pisidian valleys to the north: though the Greek colony of Attaleia, Perga's rival, was also a port of call for the larger coasting vessels. Thus climate and circumstances told unfavourably on the progress of Pamphylia, and the Graeco-Roman civilisation penetrated it very little. St. Paul and his companions had probably intended to evangelise Pamphylia before proceeding further: presumably it was their change of plan—caused, it would seem, by a physical breakdown of St. Paul,[2] which

[1] Acts xiii. 14–xiv. 23; xvi. 1–6; xviii. 23.
[2] Gal. iv. 13.

necessitated an immediate ascent into the more bracing uplands of Pisidia—that lost them the co-operation of John Mark.[1] Some two years later (perhaps in June, 49 A.D.), on their return to take ship at Attaleia, we are told that Paul and Barnabas "spoke the word in Perga,"[2] but no results are claimed. Something may have been already accomplished in the province by Pamphylian converts on their return from Pentecost nearly twenty years before; and some solid results must have accrued from the mission which St. Luke dismisses in a single sentence: for, besides Perga, Attaleia and Sidê, five other sees are known to us from the lists of the Nicene Council, implying their existence at the end of the third century. For the rest, the early history of Christianity in Pamphylia is a blank, and the Pamphylian Churches were among the earliest to decay.

Cappadocia,[3] Pontus, and Bithynia, outside the sphere of St. Paul's labours, are among the churches addressed in St. Peter's First Epistle, and the last two are assigned by tradition to St. Andrew.[4]

Cappadocia, a somewhat wild and mountainous inland tract north of the Taurus, with few cities and a comparatively sparse population, was but slowly penetrated by Graeco-Roman civilisation. The main trade route from Tarsus, by the Cilician Gates to Pontus and the Black Sea, passed through the midst of Cappadocia, which thus reaped advantage from the trade between Central Asia and the Euxine ports. This accounts for the presence of that Jewish population which sent its quota to Pente-

Cappadocia.

[1] Acts xiii. 13.
[2] Acts xiv. 25.
[3] Cf. Harnack, ii. 192 *sqq.*
[4] See above, ch. iv., p. 105.

cost in 29 A.D.,[1] a population which had already 150 years earlier been an object of Roman interest and solicitude.[2]

It was among the Jewish colonies, no doubt, that Christianity first found a footing, and it is to Judaeo-Christian communities in the province—evangelised, it may be, by Silas—that the words of St. Peter's First Epistle are addressed. The Cappadocian Church, Mother of Gothic and, in part, of Armenian Christianity, and illustrious in its learned and saintly sons—it produced in a single generation three of the Church's greatest doctors, St. Basil and the two Gregorys—was destined to play a far more glorious part in Christendom than that of Pamphylia. But for the first century we are left to inference and conjecture. The statistics of the Nicene Council show that this was one of the provinces in which the chorepiscopate was strongest, implying a leavening of scattered groups and country populations; and there are various indirect testimonies to Cappadocian Christianity about the end of the second century, after which Cappadocian Christians are frequently mentioned as resident in other provinces.[3]

Later glories of Cappadocian Church.

Pontus and Bithynia, since 65 A.D., formed a single province. The name Pontus was, indeed, applied to various districts outside the province: P. Polemoniacus, the kingdom of Polemon II, whose mother and co-regent, Tryphaena, figures in the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*,[4] P. Galaticus, and P. Cappadocicus: but it is to the Roman half-

Pontus and Bithynia.

[1] Acts ii. 9.
[2] 1 Macc. xv. 22.
[3] Harnack, ii. 193.
[4] See below, p. 135.

province that the name apparently refers as used in the New Testament. The united province of Pontus and Bithynia extended practically along the whole of the south coast of the Black Sea. It was a fertile and civilised tract, and one in which Christianity evidently made very speedy progress, especially along the seaboard. Pontus was represented among the pilgrims at Pentecost:[1] and it is possible that among these was Aquila: though it is equally possible that in 29 A.D. he was already settled in Rome—whence Claudius' edict banished him twenty-one years later—and converted to Christianity there, if, indeed, (as is perhaps less probable) his conversion be not due to St. Paul, when they met at Corinth in 51 A.D. The province was forbidden to St. Paul when, probably from Dorylaeum, he assayed to enter it in 50 A.D.; and it has been conjectured[2] that the Gospel may have reached it first by sea from Asia, or from Rome. Yet, apart from the possibility of evangelisation by Pentecostal pilgrims and the traditional mission of St. Andrew, we must not neglect the facilities afforded by the trade route through Cappadocia. When Silas bore, probably from Rome and by sea, the encyclical letter which bears St. Peter's name, he was a messenger to churches already founded; and the founding of some of these churches, whether by Andrew or Silas himself, or another, may well have been accomplished after work in Cappadocia, even if—in the subsequent development of Christianity in the province—sea communication played a preponderant part.

How evangelised.

[1] Acts ii. 9.

[2] Ramsay, in Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Pontus."

Though actually contemporary evidence for the progress of the Faith in the first century is confined to the single reference in St. Peter's Epistle, the letters of Pliny to Trajan have all the value of contemporary testimony. For, writing in 112 A.D., he mentions Christians converted twenty (or it may be twenty-five) years earlier: that is to say, we have official evidence that Christianity had reached the province at least as early as 92 or 87 A.D.; and the general description Pliny gives strongly suggests a still earlier date. His well-known words must be quoted once more for the undying interest they have as showing the signal progress Christianity had already made, and what it looked like to a cultured, humane, and impartial pagan within a dozen years of the death of the last Apostle. He writes to Trajan for advice: because as governor of Bithynia and Pontus he is for the first time brought face to face with the "Christian question," Christianity being by that time a religion definitely *illicita*, and Christians, when denounced, if obdurately refusing to burn incense to the Emperor's statue, being liable to the extreme penalties of the law.

Witness of Pliny.

After speaking with sympathy and discernment of their character and customs, he concludes by suggesting that he should be permitted to deal with them in the mildest possible way, "on account of the number of those in danger; for many of all ages and of every rank, and even of both sexes, are brought into present or future danger. The contagion of that superstition has penetrated not the cities only, but the villages and country. . . ." And then he goes on to speak of pagan "temples almost deserted" and "long-disused

ceremonies of religion" and of the great fall there had been in the fodder-market, owing to the disuse of sacrificial victims.[1]

Pliny's language is confirmed—if it needed corroboration—by a cynical remark of Lucian's (*c.* 170 A.D.) to the effect that "the whole country" of Pontus "is filled full of Epicureans and Atheists and Christians."[2]

When we turn to Galatia we are met by an ambiguity still more puzzling than that presented by the name of Pontus. Apart from the possible application of the name to Gaul,[3] it may refer either to the Galatic kingdom in the level tableland of central Asia Minor which in A.D. 25 was absorbed into a larger Roman province, or to that province which included, besides the original kingdom of Galatia, Phrygian, Lycaonian, Pisidian, and Isaurian districts to the south of it, districts fertile, wooded, and hilly, through which passed the great road from Ephesus to Syrian Antioch.

Galatia: ambiguity of name.

It is this southern part of the province which is the scene of St. Paul's labours in his first two missionary journeys; and was revisited in the third;[4] and though controversy is not quite dead, we may take it as practically proven that he did not visit North Galatia, and that it is to these southern churches, Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, that the famous Epistle is addressed.

St. Paul in South Galatia.

[1] Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 96. The informers had evidently suffered in their pockets. Cf. Acts xvi. 19 *sqq.* (Philippi) and xix. 23 *sqq.* (Ephesus), and see below, ch. xii., p. 218.

[2] *Alex.* 25; ap. Hastings' *Dict.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] As in 2 Tim. iv. 10; see above, p. 102, n. 8.

[4] Acts xviii. 23.

These populations had already shown their fickleness on St. Paul's first appearance among them.[1] Driven by illness up from the malarious Pamphylian plain, he was received by the "Galatians" with open arms. They had welcomed him "as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus," and declared themselves ready "to pluck out their eyes" and give them to him: but anon they had fallen away. So, too, at Lystra, they were on the point of offering him divine honours;[2] yet soon after stoned him within an inch of his life.[3] And the change alike in St. Luke's narrative and in St. Paul's epistles is attributed to Judaizers.

Character of Galatia Proper.

Galatia proper, the territory from which the whole province took its name—a dreary tableland some two hundred miles long by one hundred miles broad—was a sort of "reserve," within the limits of which the Gauls who had invaded Asia Minor in 278 B.C. had been ultimately confined by Attalus I, King of Pergamus, fifty years later. Here, after a period of subjection to the Pontic kings, the Gauls were freed by Rome in 64 B.C., and ruled by their own chieftains till 5 B.C., when the province of Galatia was formed. The Gauls no doubt formed simply a dominant minority in the midst of a larger Phrygian and Greek population, to whom they left agriculture and commerce, contenting themselves with war and shepherding. To these elements a Roman was added by the forward policy of Augustus and his successors. According to St. Jerome, the Gauls of Galatia were still bilingual in the fourth century, speaking, besides Greek, a dialect similar to that of the Treviri. A Lycaonian

[1] Gal. iv. 13–16. [2] Acts xiv. 11 *sqq.* [3] Acts xiv. 19.

dialect, evidently not understood by the Apostles, is mentioned by St. Luke; and Phrygian was spoken in large tracts of both North and South Galatia, the native speech lingering on till, with the triumph of the Cross, the language of the New Testament superseded it. The attempts to fix upon the Gallic nature the special characteristics of those to whom the Epistle is addressed are unconvincing. At any rate the data are more applicable to the Phrygian character. This would not surprise us even if there were evidence that St. Paul had preached in the chief North Galatian centres, Pessinus, Ancyra, and Tavium; for the Gallic element was comparatively weak in the towns. But there is no direct evidence that St. Paul ever visited those places; and history furnishes a strong argument to the contrary in the fact that till near the end of the second century there is no reference to Christianity in Northern Galatia, and then only in a single city, Ancyra (192 A.D.): while the evidence of the early councils goes to show that in that district the spread of Church organisation was immensely behind that of the Pisidian and Lycaonian regions of the province.[1]

Roman activity in S. Galatia.

Augustus urged on the imperial policy with special vigour in Galatia, and particularly in the southern district, where he founded six colonies, a chain of outposts against the restless mountain tribes of the Taurus. Two of these were to become famous in the history of the Church—Pisidian Antioch and Lystra—the former a military centre of great importance, connected with the rest, to south-east and south-west of it, by a system of roads

[1] Ramsay, in Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Galatia."

and milestones. Claudius remodelled and Romanised other cities, including Iconium and Derbe. Through these cities passed a constant stream of intercourse to and fro between Rome and the East, and so, in addition to the fact that their cosmopolitan characteristics—Phrygian, Greek, and Jewish, with Roman superimposed—made them ideal seed-plots for the "Catholic Religion," they formed a fine strategic position for the Apostles' campaign. At the same time that position was peculiarly vulnerable. Off the main route might have been found here and there synagogues of Jews to form a starting-point, and to rouse, in turn, the first opposition to the Apostles' preaching. But the organised subversion of his converts by emissaries from Jerusalem, of which St. Paul complains in the Epistle, was facilitated by those same advantages of position which probably made him fix upon those cities as of primary importance for his task.

The toilsome and dangerous mountain road that leads up from Perga to Pisidian Antioch—a track strewn to-day with ancient inscriptions that speak of "perils of robbers" and "perils of waters"[1]—brought the weary party of missionaries at the beginning of August, 47 A.D., into an atmosphere both physically and spiritually bracing: nor was there lacking to St. Paul, weak still in the early stages of convalescence, that human welcome he so sorely needed, albeit the chief troubles that were to mark his course were those which he designates "perils by mine own countrymen."

Antioch stood upon a ridge 3600 feet above sea-

[1] See especially the instances recorded by Ramsay (*Ch. in R. Empire*, pp. 23, 24).

level. It was a Roman colony of some standing—since before B.C. 6—and, like Lystra, proud of its Roman character. When St. Paul reached Antioch it was at the zenith of its importance, as the centre of that military activity which, under Claudius (41–54 A.D.), resulted in the final pacification of the district. Its mixed population of Romans, Greeks, Jews, and Phrygians gave to it an intellectually stimulating quality; and made it an ideal centre for one whose aim was to Christianise the world through the Empire of Rome.

Pisidian Antioch.

The story of this visit has an added interest to those who believe that it is to Pisidian Antioch (and not her Syrian namesake) that St. Luke really belongs, and that the full and graphic account of the synagogue service and of St. Paul's sermon there—the first of which we have a complete record—is that of an eye-witness, one of his hearers, who is no other than the historian himself.[1] The sermon is full of interest, especially when compared with the typical sermons of St. Peter and St. Stephen sketched by the same historian, and with St. Paul's own later discourses, e.g. at Lystra and at Athens. Compared with the two first-named, with which it has striking resemblances in matter and method, it certainly shows a more clear and developed Christology—Christ is the Son of God[2]—and exhibits the characteristic Pauline doctrine of justification by faith: compared with the latter, it indicates the Apostle's versatility in dealing with different audiences.

Sermon at Antioch.

The effect of the sermon was momentous. It created

[1] See Rackham, *Acts*, Introduction, pp. xxx, xxxi.

[2] Acts xiii. 33.

such a stir among the entire population that, on the following Sabbath, the synagogue was packed: not only Jews and "devout proselytes," but Latins, Greeks, and Phrygians, who had no connexion with Judaism, thronged the place. The Jews themselves, roused to jealousy, burst out into violent opposition to the strange rabbis, whose teaching threatened to crowd them out and fill their synagogue with those whom they regarded as "unclean." Whereupon "Paul and Barnabas spake out boldly, and said: It was necessary that the word of God should first be spoken to you. Seeing ye thrust it from you and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles."[1]

Hostility aroused.

The Rubicon was crossed. There followed a period of two or three months' successful work among Gentiles during which "the word of God was spread abroad throughout the whole region."[2] And now comes in a touch of local colour. Throughout Asia Minor, and especially in Phrygia, women played a prominent part in civic and social life. "Under the Roman Empire," says Ramsay, "we find women magistrates, presidents of games, and loaded with honours."[3] When the envious Jews wished to stem effectually the progress of the new teaching, it was through the "aristocratic women" attached to the synagogue that they set themselves to influence the chief magistrates. Paul, as a Jew, was subject to the synagogue's jurisdiction; and when convicted of tumultuous conduct was (no doubt with the connivance of the civic authorities)

[1] Acts xiii. 46. [2] Acts xiii. 49.

[3] Ramsay, *Ch. in R. Empire*, p. 67 *sq.* At Smyrna a woman was actually synagogue-ruler!

beaten with "forty stripes save one,"[1] and then cast out of the city.

As the Apostles "shook off the dust of their feet"[2] against inhospitable Antioch, they left a church not depressed or discouraged by this taste of persecution but "filled with joy and with the Holy Ghost."

Iconium: legend of St. Thekla.

The journey from Antioch to Iconium by the road probably taken would occupy some twenty-seven hours, and on the third or fourth day the Apostles would reach the city in its bower of orchards. If the tradition embodied in the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* is to be trusted, St. Paul was met on the way, at the point where the imperial road from Antioch to Lystra diverged from the Iconium road, by his host Onesiphorus. Iconium was early famous for its association with St. Paul's illustrious convert Thekla; and though her *Acts* are no doubt, in their complete form, a "forgery" (as Tertullian says), and belong to the end of the second century, they seem to incorporate contemporary and trustworthy documents. That, at least, is the opinion of Ramsay,[3] who is convinced by the description of the road. The prominence and freedom of women—quite "modern" in tone—agree with the implication of the Acts of the Apostles and with what else we know; and so too the facts alleged about Tryphaena, ex-queen of Pontus, Thekla's protectress and convert, are consistent with what we know of the historical Tryphaena. Convincing also is the suggestion that the Christian preaching aroused hostility as interfering with family life and social institutions.

[1] 2 Cor. xi. 24. [2] Cf. Luke ix. 5.

[3] Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 31. Cf. Hastings' *Dict.*, vol. v., p. 390.

Nor is it fanciful, perhaps, to regard as authentic the vivid description of the Apostle's personal appearance, as "a man of moderate height and scanty hair, bow-legged, with large eyes and meeting eyebrows and a longish nose." At Iconium they made a longer stay —perhaps the whole winter and spring[1]—but events took the same course as at Antioch, save that the civic magistrates do not appear. They preached in the synagogue, with immediate success among both Jews and Gentiles. Then followed Jewish opposition, which finally succeeded in dividing the entire city into two contending factions. A conspiracy to organise a general assault upon the Apostolic group was discovered in time; and the missionaries — with the inner circle, probably, of their converts — escaped southwards, across the Lycaonian border, to Lystra and Derbe. A short journey of some eighteen miles brought them, not indeed into a different jurisdiction—they were still within the Roman province of Galatia, though close to the frontier of the independent King Antiochus of Commagene — but into an environment where the Jewish element was much weaker, where the atmosphere was almost purely pagan, and where the country population spoke a different dialect.

Opposition aroused.

Lystra was, like Antioch, a Roman colony, and an important military station. Its natural position is one of great strength. It stands 3777 feet above sea-level, and is raised above its immediate surroundings on a bold hill some 100 to 150 feet high. Not on the main trade route, like Antioch and Iconium, it was less subject to Greek and to

Lystra.

[1] Nov., 57–June, 58 (Ramsay).

Hebrew influences. No synagogue is mentioned here; and the Jews who raise opposition are men who follow Paul from Antioch and Iconium. But that there were a few resident Jewish families here—living in unusually close intercourse with the Gentiles—is clear from the record of St. Paul's later visit in the year 50 A.D.[1] With one of these families, in which Greek and Jewess had intermarried, we may suppose that the Apostle now found hospitality, the pious roof of Lois and Eunice,[2] from which he subsequently took Timothy to be his companion.

Lystra, with its pagan environment, brings out a new side of St. Paul's versatile nature. A miracle of healing roused the population, who seem to have been preparing for some pagan festival, to intense excitement. Mindful of the legendary appearance of the gods Zeus and Hermes to the pious peasants Baucis and Philemon on the neighbouring Phrygian hills, they at once identified Barnabas and Paul with these divinities, shouting, as excited people will, in native dialect, "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men!"

Divine honours from the pagans.

The priest of Zeus Propoleos[3] brought garlanded bulls to the temple gates, intending to sacrifice them, when the supposed gods, grasping at last the meaning of the excited cries, rushed in among the crowd, protesting.

They appealed—by Paul's mouth, no doubt—to the

[1] Acts xvi. 1–5.

[2] 2 Tim. i. 5.

[3] Acts xiv. 13. This interpretation of the obscure phrase is founded on the evidence of an inscription at Pessinus, N. Galatia. See Ramsay, in Hastings' *Dictionary*, s.v. "Lystra."

pagan countryfolk not, as at Antioch, from the Hebrew Scriptures, nor, as at Athens, from the side of philosophy, but on the basis of natural religion, preaching God Almighty, the Creator of all, and the bountiful giver of harvest and vintage.

Then followed a short period of active evangelisation,[1] which was suddenly cut short by Jewish enemies, who tracked St. Paul from the scenes of recent persecutions, and now roused another population against him. This time—once in a lifetime[2]—he suffered the pains of St. Stephen's martyrdom, and was taken up for dead. But, divinely restored to strength, he passes on, after a night's rest, to the frontier town of Derbe, some thirty miles away. Derbe was, like Lystra and Antioch, a Roman military outpost, though a smaller place. Among the converts here was Gaius, one of St. Paul's companions on his third circuit.[3]

Stoning of St. Paul.

Derbe.

At Derbe the Apostles were well on their road home. Tarsus was but one hundred and sixty miles away—a shorter journey than that which they had traversed from the Pamphylian coast; and, if the season was now late to attempt the high pass of the Cilician Gates, they might well have lingered in the comparatively peaceful environment. But, in spite of the sufferings of the last months, never to be forgotten, as St. Paul's later writings show,[4] they deliberately retraced their steps and revisited one by one the scenes of

Return journey.

[1] Acts xiv. 7.
[2] 2 Cor. xi. 25.
[3] Acts xx. 4.
[4] 2 Tim. iii. 11; 2 Cor. xi. 23 *sqq.*

their recent persecutions. The motive was twofold: first, to comfort and encourage the new churches in their tribulation, and then, more important, to supply them with the elements of a stable constitution. They appointed with prayer and fasting, and doubtless with laying on of hands, presbyters in every place.

The summary account of the next visit to these Gentile churches, in 50 A.D.,[1] supplies us with few additional details: though there is a reference to the extraordinary progress made by the new faith.[2] Paul and Silas, fresh from the Council of Jerusalem, delivered on this occasion to each of the Galatian churches the decrees originally addressed to the communities of Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, but adapted, in principle, to all churches in which Gentiles were found. Further, to emphasise the "correctness" of his attitude, he circumcised Timothy, the son of a Gentile father, and not yet subjected to that rite. These things gave a handle to St. Paul's Judaizing opponents, who, as we see from the Epistle to the Galatians, represented him as no true Apostle, but an inferior minister and an emissary of the Twelve.

Nor do we learn anything fresh from the brief allusion to the third systematic visitation of the "Phrygo-Galatic territory" in 53 A.D.[3] Of the subsequent growth of Christianity in South Galatia during the first century, we have no direct knowledge. The earliest Galatian Christian known by name to us outside the New Testament is Hierax, who, at the trial of

[1] Acts xvi. 1–5. [2] Acts xvi. 5. [3] Acts xviii. 23.

Justin Martyr in 163 A.D., proclaimed himself a native of Iconium and son of Christian parents.

Legend makes Sosipater, or Sopater of Beroea,[1] a Macedonian kinsman (i.e. fellow-Jew) of St. Paul's, first bishop of Iconium, and names as his successor Tertius,[2] the amanuensis of the Roman Epistle.

[1] Rom. xvi. 21 ; Acts xx. 4. [2] Rom. xvi. 22.

CHAPTER VIII

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY: PROVINCE OF ASIA

THE province of Asia represented the kingdom of Attalus III, King of Pergamus, who, in 133 B.C., bequeathed his dominions to the Roman people. Comprising the entire western end of the peninsula of Asia Minor, it included Mysia, Lydia, Caria, and a large slice of Phrygia, with the flourishing Dorian, Aeolian, and Ionian colonies of the Aegean coast; the Troad, and the fringe of islands — Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Patmos, etc. The original capital had been Pergamus: but certainly later, and probably already in New Testament times, the Mysian city on the Caicus had begun to be supplanted by the greater and more thriving Ephesus. Besides being for some purposes, at least, the political capital of the province, and the place where, by regulation, Roman governors landed on assuming office, Ephesus was at this time the chief commercial centre. For a while Miletus, at the mouth of the Maeander Valley, by which the great eastern road passed, had rivalled Ephesus. But the journey from Ephesus was considerably shorter, and now for two or three centuries she had been supreme; and on her had converged the frequented roads from north, south, and east,

History and boundaries of the province.

Importance of Ephesus.

while coasting vessels from Corinth and Romewards or from Antioch and the Levant made her a port of call.

To St. Paul, accustomed, if ever man was, to think imperially, Ephesus was a goal of longing only second to Rome. In this magnificent centre of life, of civilisation and culture, one of the three great cities of the East,[1] the Apostle would have a door opened to him greater than any he had entered, since the mission work at Antioch on the Orontes had opened new vistas to the Church. In a sense, Ephesus was even more important than Antioch, being so much nearer to Rome.

It was probably towards Ephesus that the Apostles had intended to turn their steps in 47 A.D., when sickness upset their plans, and lost them the companionship of John Mark. It was certainly hither that his eyes were turned in 50 A.D., when on the very borders of the province he found himself "forbidden to preach the word in Asia."[2] On his voyage back to Palestine, in the spring of 53 A.D., after founding the Church of Corinth, his pilgrim-ship calling at Ephesus, he availed himself of the opportunity to pay the city a brief preliminary visit. Here he did not outwear the welcome accorded to him by the influential Jewish colony. When they had heard him once in the synagogue, they desired him to stay. Anxious to reach Jerusalem for the Passover, he departed, promising to return "if the Lord will"; and left with them his friends Aquila and Prisca, who thus became the original founders and organisers of the Ephesian Church.

Aquila and Prisca at Ephesus.

A glimpse of their work is given us in the interval

[1] With Antioch and Alexandria. [2] Acts xvi. 6, 7.

before St. Paul's next visit. In the summer of 53 A.D. there came to Ephesus a learned and eloquent rabbi from Alexandria, preaching with force and conviction in the synagogue an incomplete Christian doctrine, which needed to be supplemented by Aquila and Prisca. They gave Apollos himself fuller and more accurate instruction, and sent him to Corinth with commendatory letter to the Church. His converts were instructed further by the Apostle when he came, and received at his hands that Christian baptism of which Apollos had been ignorant (he had known only "the baptism of John"), and with it the gift of the Holy Ghost.[1]

St. Paul's arrival.

It was in the winter of 53 A.D. that St. Paul arrived in Ephesus, and with him a band of lieutenants, including Timothy, Erastus, Gaius, and Aristarchus. Anxious to reach his goal as soon as possible and to begin the evangelisation of the province from Ephesus itself as a centre, he avoided, it would seem, the great trade route by the Lycus Valley through Colossae and Laodicea,[2] and took the higher mountain road — a shorter and pleasanter route for foot-passengers, descending at last by the valley of the Cayster.

State of the city.

In Ephesus he found a city where two elements were struggling for the mastery. He introduced a third which, after a long struggle, conquered them both. The two opposing forces in Ephesian history had been that of the Temple, representing an immemorial Asiatic cult,

[1] Acts xviii. 24–xix. 7.

[2] When he wrote Col. ii. 1 they "had not seen his face in the flesh," and he knew of them by hearsay (*ibid.*, i. 4, 9).

and that of the Greek merchant colony, the party of material progress and enlightenment.

Cult of Artemis.

On the south side of the river Cayster, about five miles in from the coast, stands a little hill. Here have stood successively two temples dedicated to the Ephesian Artemis, and two churches commemorating St. John the Divine, whose name the hill still bears, disguised as "Ayasaluk."[1] For, on the site of a small ancient church built there when at last the Galilean had triumphed, Justinian erected a magnificent basilica, of which traces still remain. But in St. Paul's day it was the second temple of Artemis that stood there, one of the "Wonders of the World." The first temple, begun by Croesus in 560 B.C., had been burnt to the ground in the year of the great Alexander's birth. It was replaced by a magnificent building, measuring 425 by 220 feet,[2] to which "all Asia had contributed."

The old city, like the modern village, had clustered round that sacred mound: but the Greek colony stood apart, a mile or two to the south-west.

The Temple was an enormous factor in the life of Ephesus. It gave the city a unique prestige: it attracted pilgrims from the whole world, and so encouraged trade: food and lodging for travellers, animals for sacrifice, fodder for the animals, and a dozen accessory industries. Above all, it developed its own special trade in little shrines of Artemis of marble, terracotta, or silver which the pilgrims loved to take

[1] Or *Ayassoluk*, i.e. "Αγιος Θεολόγος (Ramsay, *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 127).

[2] Pliny, *N.H.*, xvi. 40, 213. Cited by Ramsay in Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Ephesus," from which most of these facts are taken.

home with them. The Temple was, moreover, a treasury and an asylum within whose precincts no arms could be borne—recognised as such by Rome in A.D. 22.

The worship of Ephesian Artemis—originally the Lydian representative of that principle of fecundity and reproduction, worshipped throughout the East under many different names—was officially recognised by the Empire side by side with that of Rome and its lord. On coins and inscriptions Ephesus boasted itself Temple-warden (*Neocoros*) of Artemis; and an inscription of the second century is extant in which she claims to be "Doubly Temple-warden of the Emperors and Warden of Artemis"—"doubly" because she then had two temples of the imperial cultus, one of Augustus, standing in St. Paul's time, and a later one of Hadrian's reign.

The cult recognised by the Empire.

There was a high priest, known by the Persian title of Megabyzus, and under him an elaborate and complicated hierarchy of priests and priestesses and other functionaries, some of whom existed for the precise purpose of binding the Temple's yoke more firmly upon the city. The Greek colonists of the city were always struggling to cast off this yoke, and had the municipal and provincial authorities on the whole upon their side. This party we find ranged with St. Paul: the "Asiarchs," high provincial officials who seem to have been connected with the imperial cultus, befriended him: the city secretary—a very important municipal officer—intervened at a critical moment to suppress a riot raised on his account.[1] This unwritten alliance pre-

Organisation of the cult.

[1] Acts xix. 31, 35.

sumably persisted till about the end of the first century, to the detriment of the Temple party and the associated trades, producing a state of things like that observed by Pliny in Bithynia a dozen years later. The policy of Domitian, however, seems to have ranged both town and Temple against a Church smitten by persecution and distressed by heresy; and, as the Church's "first love" cooled,[1] the spirit of Artemis' votaries revived. An inscription of the year 104 exemplifies a vigorous movement to restore the splendour of the ancient worship, and to bind city and sanctuary more closely together.

St. Paul's work at Ephesus.

During a stay of about two years and four months (December, 53, to March, 56), which he describes later, according to the rough and liberal calculation of the Jews, as "a space of three years,"[2] St. Paul was able not only to make a great impression upon Ephesus itself, but also to reach with his message both Jews and Gentiles throughout the whole province.[3]

He began, as usual, in the synagogue, but after a time he was induced by the inevitable Jewish opposition to take the step which he had taken years before at Pisidian Antioch, and break definitely with the synagogue authorities.

Lectures in the school of Tyrannus.

At Ephesus he had facilities for systematic teaching which had not come to him elsewhere. When he separated his growing flock of disciples from the congregation of the synagogue, they were able to retire to commodious quarters in the school of a certain Tyrannus, lent to St. Paul or hired by him for lecturing purposes.

[1] Rev. ii. 4–6. [2] Acts xx. 31. [3] Acts xix. 10.

Here (according to an interesting reading in the Bezan Codex) he held forth daily "from the fifth to the tenth hour," that is, roughly, from 11 a.m. till 4 p.m. No doubt as the fact became known, numbers of provincials came and spent an hour or two in the school, when a religious festival, or commercial or legal business—for Ephesus was an assize town[1]—brought them into the capital. Thus by their means the Gospel message would radiate outwards. But the evangelisation of the province was doubtless accelerated by St. Paul's lieutenants. We know that Epaphras became, on St. Paul's behalf, the Apostle of Colossae,[2] when he might well have visited also the neighbouring Laodicea and Hierapolis and Philadelphia; and we may picture Timothy and Erastus, Gaius and Aristarchus as pushing northwards to other great centres such as Smyrna, Thyatira, and Pergamus. It is not improbable that, by such means, St. Paul sowed the seeds of the Gospel in all the Asian cities of which we have mention in the New Testament.

Evangelisation of the province.

In Ephesus itself, after the breach with the Jews, seems to have followed a period of peaceful progress, ending in a triumph which reminds one of Savonarola's burnings of vanities at Florence. "Ephesian Magic"[3] was celebrated throughout the ancient world: its practisants had accumulated books of formulae, "Ephesian Letters," valued at fabulous prices. Here, as at Samaria and at Paphos, when the Gospel was confronted with a

Magic arts.

[1] Acts xix. 38. [2] Col. i. 7; iv. 12 *sqq.*

[3] Ἐφέσια γραμματά, mentioned by Plutarch and others (Hastings, *loc. cit.*).

false spiritualism, God vouchsafed to His representative extraordinary powers of mind over mind and matter which to our minds look like a condescension to superstition. St. Paul's power of mediating health from his own body made a great impression, but the climax was reached through the ill-success of some travelling Jews who ventured to use as a magical formula the name of "Jesus whom Paul preacheth." A great revulsion of feeling took place, and "the Name of the Lord Jesus was magnified" even among the professors of magic. Many who, while convinced of the truth of the Gospel, had clung in secret to their old superstitions, came and made open confession; and many, hitherto unconverted, made a public recantation of their magic arts, burning their precious manuscripts to a total value of some £1700.[1]

The riot: St. Paul's departure.

Having accomplished this, St. Paul began to think of other spheres of labour: of a visit to the Macedonian churches, and an ultimate journey to Rome. He had actually sent on two of his companions to Macedonia, when a movement occurred which showed how strong were the forces of paganism still in Ephesus, backed as it was by a complex of vested interests. The well-known narrative of the riot instigated by Demetrius, Warden of the Guild of Silversmiths, of his appeal at once to the religious and patriotic sentiments and to the pockets of his fellow-townsmen, the graphic scene in the theatre—the ruins of which show it to have been capable of holding at least twenty-four thousand persons—and the many allusions of the secretary's speech, all throw vivid light upon the seething life

[1] Acts xix. 13–20.

of Ephesus, and testify abundantly to the detailed accuracy of the historian.[1]

And now St. Paul was to look his last on Ephesus. So evidently he at least thought when, on his return from Greece, he met the Ephesian Presbyters at Miletus and told them he should see their face no more. That incomparably tender and pathetic address[2] throws light on the simple industrious life he had led during his residence in the city, and on the more spiritual side of his mission. It shows also that he had organised a regular and settled ministry in that Church, and surrounded it with the most sacred sanctions. Over these presbyter bishops he set Timothy at a later date, with his own Apostolic authority and power to ordain.

Address to Ephesian elders.

The rest that we know about Ephesus in the first century is soon told.

The Apocalypse, in its Letters to the Seven Churches, gives us a glimpse of the Ephesian Church at the end of the century, and of a circle of six others, each of which is thought to represent a group whose centre was in the centre named. From Revelation ii. 1–7, we may gather something of the state of the Church in Ephesus about forty years after St. Paul's visit. We learn that it had been vexed by "hateful" Nicolaitan teaching,[3] but also by false apostles, among whom may perhaps be classed the Diotrephes of St. John's Third Epistle.[4] The allusion to heresy is

Ephesus in the Apocalypse.

[1] Acts xix. 35-41, and see, e.g., Rackham's commentary on that passage, and Ramsay's article in Hastings, *ut supra*, esp. p. 723.

[2] Acts xx. 18 *sqq*.

[3] See below, ch. xvi., p. 310.

[4] 3 John 9 *sq*.

paralleled in the Second Epistle,[1] and illustrated also by the traditional struggle between the Apostle and the early Gnostic heresiarch Cerinthus.[2] To both heretical teaching and false assumptions of authority the Ephesian Church had offered, and still continued to offer, unwearying opposition. Fifteen years later, in 110, St. Ignatius could write to the Ephesians: "In your midst no heresy has its dwelling." Yet a cooling of her first fervour is noted with dismay. This followed, apparently, on the persecution of Domitian; and became, as we have seen, the occasion of a fresh revival of the cult of Artemis.

St. John at Ephesus.

After his release from Patmos, on the death of Domitian in 95 A.D., St. John seems to have taken up his residence at Ephesus, and spent his last years in writing his Gospel and in consolidating the organisation of the Asian churches, with whose permanent episcopate his name is connected by trustworthy tradition. The stories of his last days, of his pursuit and conversion of the bandit, of his relaxation with a tame partridge, of his struggle with Cerinthus, of his constant refrain, "Little children, love one another"—all centre in Ephesus and the neighbourhood, where at the dawn of the second century the last of the Apostles departed and was buried.[3] Here also the Blessed Virgin is said to have fallen asleep under his care; and the tomb of one of St. Philip's daughters was shown here, with that also of the perplexing "Presbyter John" mentioned by

[1] 2 John 7 *sqq*.

[2] Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, iii. 3, 4 (on authority of Polycarp). The story is twice told by Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 28 and iv. 14.

[3] Euseb., *H. E.*

Papias[1] as one of the Lord's disciples, and perhaps, too, that of his fellow disciple Aristion. It is probable that the Onesimus, who was chief pastor of Ephesus in Ignatius' time, would have been already before St. John's death distinguished among her sons.[2]

Ephesus, the heart of the kernel of Hellenism, was to play a great part in the early history of Christendom. It was, in all probability, the scene not only of the settled organisation of the developed ministry but of the canon of the four Gospels and of the New Testament as a whole. It was not till many centuries later that her "candlestick" was finally "removed," her once famous harbour became a dismal swamp, and her glory a small heap of ruins.

Importance of Ephesian Church.

To the foundation of the neighbouring group of churches in the Lycus Valley, Colossae, Hierapolis, and Laodicea, allusion has already been made. Something of their inner life and their intellectual temptations in the year 60 A.D. may be gathered from the Epistle to the Colossians, whose characteristics are, no doubt, those of the whole group. Twenty-five years later the Laodicean Letter in the Apocalypse supplies us with a glimpse of the then state of the three sister-churches, though its terms are specially applicable to Laodicea itself.

Churches of the Lycus Valley.

Of the "Colossian heresy"[3] we speak elsewhere. The city had been of considerable importance, lying on

[1] Ap. Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39.
[2] Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 36.
[3] See below, ch. xvi., p. 305.

the main trade route between Ephesus and the east. This accounts for the touches of Judaism in the local speculation: for, though we know of no Jewish colony in the place, Jewish merchants and other travellers would often pass by. From the Epistle we learn that Epaphras, a native of Colossae, had relations also with Hierapolis and Laodicea, and Aristarchus with Colossae at least; and that when St. Paul and St. Mark were expected on a mission there, Philemon and Onesimus his slave were among the Colossian believers,[1] and Archippus held a responsible office in the Church,[2] of which he was afterwards claimed as first bishop.[3] The Epistle addressed to the Colossians is ordered to be communicated to the Laodicean Church, and the (now lost) Laodicean Epistle, in turn, to the Colossians. The importance of Colossae waned as that of its two neighbours increased.

Colossae.

Of Hierapolis we have but a single incidental mention in the New Testament:[4] but early and trustworthy tradition adds something to our knowledge. The city stood on the northern edge of the Lycus Valley, six miles from Laodicea and twelve from Colossae. It was a flourishing watering-place with medicinal springs, but celebrated still more for its Charonion or "Mouth of Hell," a narrow opening from which poisonous vapours issued. Here, the Church, founded perhaps by Timothy and Epaphras during St. Paul's residence in Ephesus, had to contend with heathen superstition unmixed with political or other

Hierapolis.

[1] Cf. Philem. 2, with Col. iv. 17.
[2] Col. iv. 17.
[3] Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Archippus."
[4] Col. iv. 13.

tendencies. Hierapolis, according to local tradition,[1] was the last residence of Philip the Apostle—his namesake the Evangelist having settled at Tralles—who also evangelised Tripolis, ten miles to the north. At Hierapolis its bishop, Papias, whose life overlaps those of the Apostles, wrote about 130 A.D. his *Expositions of the Oracles of the Lord*, of which precious fragments have been preserved by Eusebius.[2]

The Apocalyptic Letter to Laodicea draws a picture of worldly prosperity and self-complacency combined with spiritual squalor and destitution, which has been shown to teem with local allusions. The city, which had rapidly become rich and great under Roman rule, was shattered by an earthquake in 60 A.D., some four years after St. Paul's visit to Ephesus: but it disdained, as Tacitus tells us, to seek from the imperial munificence that help which its neighbours accepted, preferring to "revive by its own resources."[3] So in the Letter the Church at Laodicea is represented as boasting, "I am rich and have gotten riches and have need of nothing."[4] Laodicea was a banking centre,[5] and had a great trade in glossy black wool: traits alluded to in the Letter, where the Church is counselled to buy gold refined by the fire and "white garments": while a possible parallel to the "eye-salve"[6] may be found in the local medicament known as "Phrygian powder." Laodicea.

No names are given us in this sketch of the Church at the end of the century. In St. Paul's day the

[1] Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus (*c.* 190 A.D.), cited by Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 31.

[2] See esp. *H. E.*, iii. 39. [3] Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 27.

[4] Rev. iii. 17. [5] Cic., *Ep. ad Fam.*, iii. 5, 4. [6] Rev. iii. 18.

family of Nymphas had a prominent place, and probably his house formed the first meeting-place of the brethren. He and Archippus and Diotrephes are by untrustworthy tradition named as first bishops in the city, which furnished a bishop to the roll of martyrs in the middle of the second century,[1] and (having repented, for a time, of its "lukewarmness") became for centuries the leading bishopric of Phrygia, till the Moslem invasion wiped it out.

The Church of Laodicea, representing the Lycus group, is named last on the list of the "Seven Churches."[2] The order of that list represents a circuit of the province along the frequented routes, through the chief Christian centres, the mother-churches of the several districts: first, north from Ephesus through Smyrna (fifty miles) to Pergamus (fifty miles): thence, south-east by Thyatira in north-central Lydia, and Philadelphia to Laodicea; and so back, west, by the valley of the Maeander to Ephesus. For the intervening five cities the Apocalypse is our sole first-century authority, illustrated here and there by pagan history and archaeology. Except Thyatira none of them is even mentioned elsewhere in the New Testament.

Smyrna.

For Smyrna, as for Philadelphia, the Epistle is almost wholly laudatory;[3] and, in consequence, supplies few details as to the pagan environment and the special difficulties of the young Church. In contrast to the Laodicean community that of Smyrna seems to have been very poor, though

[1] Sagaris (*c.* 166 A.D.). Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 26 (quoting Melito) and v. 24 (quoting Polycrates).

[2] Rev. i. 11; ii. 1–iii. 22.

[3] Rev. ii. 8–11.

spiritually rich. Like Philadelphia, she suffered from the calumnies of lax and half-paganised Jews, who are denounced as "The Synagogue of Satan." Persecution —instigated, perhaps, by the Jewish population—was imminent: it should be short and sharp. No individual is named in the Letter: but Polycarp, who was martyred scarcely sixty years afterwards, in 155 A.D., and was already bishop when St. Ignatius passed through in 110, had in 96 been "serving Christ" already twenty-seven years: so the Church at Smyrna may well have been founded during St. Paul's stay in Ephesus, or soon after. It is interesting to note that the Jews of Smyrna—still a Synagogue of Satan—joined with the heathen in Polycarp's martyrdom.

For the rest, Smyrna, with its wonderful harbour, a splendid specimen of the Hellenic commercial colony, has ever maintained its place in the world, and is still at once a flourishing port and a centre of Eastern Church-life. "Be thou faithful," says the Divine Counsellor to the Church in that city which Cicero called "the most faithful of our allies"; and the triumphant answer of her long history is that to-day the Turks compliment her with the name of "Infidel Smyrna."

Pergamus, the ancient capital of the Asian kingdom, retained, apparently, through the first century, some at least of its marks of precedence, even though Ephesus had outstripped her in other ways. Here was, it would seem, the real centre of the *Commune Asiae*, the association in which the whole province united for the worship of Rome and the Emperors, whose officers, the Asiarchs,[1] had be-

Pergamus.

[1] Acts xix. 31.

friended St. Paul at Ephesus. And it is to this most probably, and not to the famous cult of Aesculapius, that the disputed phrase refers, "where Satan's throne is." Here, as at Ephesus, the Nicolaitan heresy was already established: here, as at Thyatira, believers were tempted to associate with idolatrous and immoral practices: but the crowning difficulty was that of "Satan's throne," the more formidable because of Domitian's personal passion to be addressed as "Lord and God."[1] The imperial cultus, the organisation of all others most formidable to Christianity, had already begun its death-grapple with the force that alone was really capable of uniting and rejuvenating the Empire. Antipas of Pergamus, the first known martyr of the Asian Church, who evidently suffered some years before the date of the Apocalypse, represents, perhaps, the first-fruits of this conflict.[2]

Thyatira.

Thyatira,[3] a busy commercial city midway between Pergamus and Sardis, was under the patronage of Apollo, as Ephesus under that of his sister Artemis. Outside the city was a famous Sibylline Oracle, whose prophetess or "pythoness" some have seen in the "Jezebel" of the Letter to Thyatira. More probably she was a prophetess within the Church, who (in the problems raised by living amongst the heathen) took a line of weak compromise opposed to that of St. Paul and St. John. The whole city was permeated with a system of guilds, including a guild of dyers to which, no doubt, belonged St. Paul's convert Lydia, the "Turkey-red merchant," who may

[1] Domitian obliged his procurators to begin their official instructions thus: *Dominus et Deus noster hoc fieri jubet* (*Suet. Dom.* 13).

[2] Rev. ii. 12–17. [3] Rev. ii. 18 to fin.

have been the first evangelist to her native city. These guilds had many good sides, and dissociation from them meant, no doubt, social and material loss: but their life was steeped in idolatry and unchastity; and one who encouraged the Church to such intimacy was certainly playing the rôle of a Jezebel to the new Israel. In this connexion the phrase "none other burden"[1] looks like a reference to the decrees of the Council at Jerusalem. Another phrase in the Letter, "the deep things of Satan," recalls the formulae of Gnosticism; and suggests the presence of some such form of heresy in the Church.

Sardis.

Sardis,[2] in the middle of the Hermus Valley, where the Pactolus joins the Hermus and about thirty-five miles south of Thyatira, had been capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia: but that kingdom had passed away more than six centuries ago; and Sardis, though still important in its way, was already a city of the past. Its Epistle uses history of the city as a sort of parable to point warnings to the local Church. Sardis, an apparently impregnable fortress, had twice been captured by a surprise: "Be watchful" is the warning. "I know that thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead."

Some temptation had recently assailed the Church—probably a crisis of persecution in which there had been numerous defections, but a few had "not defiled their garments." Melito, her bishop about 170 A.D., is the next representative of Sardis of whom we have knowledge. He was a prolific writer, and the fragment of his Apology preserved for us by Eusebius[3]

[1] Rev. ii. 24. Cf. Acts xv. 28. [2] Rev. iii. 1–6.
[3] Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 26; see Harnack, ii. 224.

exhibits "large ideas on the relation of the Church to the Empire," such as would not have been possible had not Christianity been already a power to be reckoned with in Sardis and in Asia.

Philadelphia.

Of Philadelphia, we gather from the Letter[1] that it was a young Church with a brilliant future before it, and that the hand of persecution was not to lie very heavily upon it. Here, as at Smyrna, the degenerate Hellenising Jews had become a veritable "synagogue of Satan":[2] yet though in Ignatius' day, some fifteen years later, Judaizing teaching was still a danger,[3] the Jews had already, in 95 A.D., begun to rally to the Church. "I will make them to come and worship before thy feet and to know that I have loved thee." The "open door" is apparently a prediction of the swift spread of Christianity in the surrounding districts of East Lydia and Phrygia, a view which would be corroborated by one interpretation of a phrase of Ignatius about the "neighbouring churches" with their "bishops."[4]

Troas.

One other important city of the province of Asia figures in the New Testament, mentioned twice by St. Luke and twice by St. Paul himself. This is the famous Roman colony of Troas, a Seleucid city refounded by Augustus, who accorded it special rights and privileges on the strength of its mythical connexion, through the Trojan Aeneas, with the origin of the Roman race. It was the most important town of Mysia, the port of embarkation for Europe in the northern route from the East to Rome, which passed from Neapolis on the Macedonian coast

[1] Rev. iii. 7–13.
[2] Rev. iii.; 9 cf. ii. 9.
[3] Ign., *Phil.*, vi.
[4] Ign., *Phil.*, x.

and Philippi along the Via Egnatia through Amphipolis, Thessalonica, and Apollonia to Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic. It was also a port of call for Aegean coasting vessels bound for the Black Sea ports or from Macedonia to the Levant, or vice versa. Obviously it was a magnificent focus for missionary work; and we are not surprised to find St. Paul using his metaphor of the "open door" concerning Troas.[1] The Apostle visited Troas on three (or more probably four) successive occasions. The first was in 50–1 A.D., on that second missionary journey when "in a single march the Gospel was carried over more than half the breadth of the eastern Roman Empire."[2] On the third journey he visited Troas again, probably twice: once during his stay at Ephesus (a trip not mentioned in the Acts), when his eagerness to meet Titus and hear his news prevented him from using his opportunities in the Mysian port,[3] and again on his return from Macedonia, sailing homewards to Palestine. Some evangelistic work had doubtless been done on the previous visits: but it is in connexion with this short stay in 56 A.D. that most details are recorded.[4]

When St. Paul and St. Luke reached Troas they found seven trusty companions awaiting them, and spent a complete week together with the disciples. It is here that we first have mention of the regular observance of the first day of the week,[5] and the first sketch of a Christian service entirely divorced from Judaism, the meeting in the upper room with many

[1] 2 Cor. ii. 12.
[2] G. G. Findlay, in Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Paul," p. 709.
[3] 2 Cor. ii. 13. [4] Acts xx. 5–12.
[5] Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 2, written about the same date.

lights burning, the Apostle's discourse, interrupted by the accident and miraculous recovery of Eutychus, and finally the Eucharistic meal. The last visit to Troas is alluded to in the latest of St. Paul's extant writings; and belongs, no doubt, to the last twelve months of his life, when, released from his first imprisonment, he paid a farewell visit to his converts in Asia and Macedonia.

The next appearance of Troas in Church history is in connexion with St. Ignatius, who passed through it on his way to martyrdom in 110 A.D., and despatched from it three of his famous seven Letters. Five of these Letters are addressed to five of the churches of Asia.

St. Ignatius' Letters.

Besides Ephesus, Philadelphia, and Smyrna, his correspondence brings before us two churches not mentioned in the New Testament—Magnesia and Tralles. Both of these cities were in the Maeander Valley near to Ephesus and on the great road that leads to Colossae, Hierapolis, and Laodicea; and it is more than likely that they were already in existence when the Apocalypse was written, and are tacitly grouped under Ephesus as Colossae and Hierapolis under Laodicea. Writing to the Magnesians, Ignatius had special words of praise for the Church as not being "puffed up," and for their bishop, whose name was Damas, and his "garland of presbyters" and "godly deacons."[1]

Magnesia and Tralles.

For the Trallians he has a word of warning against false teachers, and in particular against doctrine of a Docetic type, which denied the reality of the facts of the Creed.[2] The bishop of that day was Polybius.[3]

[1] Ign., *Magn.*, xii., ii., xiii.
[2] Ign., *Trall.*, x., ix.
[3] Ign., *Trall.*, i.

Tralles—the city near Ephesus, or possibly that fifteen miles from Hierapolis—is the reputed residence of St. Philip the Evangelist[1] and his prophetess daughters. St. Philip is said to have been first bishop of the Church there, succeeded perhaps by Ignatius' contemporary, Polybius.

From the Letters of St. Ignatius there is but little detailed knowledge to be gained as to the condition of each Church he addresses. He had little opportunity of special knowledge himself. They are more general in character, the outpourings of a full heart on subjects that are dearest to it. Yet we shall be justified in concluding that he felt that the age, and more especially the Asian Churches, needed exhortation to a spirit of discipline and unity to be found in reverent submission to that threefold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons[2] which was clearly an established institution, in the fellowship of the Eucharist,[3] and in a high Christological doctrine as against Judaistic or Docetic errors.[4]

[1] See Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Philip."
[2] Ign., *Trall.*, ii., iii., vi., vii.; *Smyrn.*, viii., ix.; *Phil.*, vii., x.
[3] Ign., *Phil.*, iv.; *Smyrn.*, vii.
[4] Ign., *Trall.*, ix.; *Smyrn.*, vi. and *passim*.

CHAPTER IX

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY: MACEDONIA AND ACHAIA

THE vision which St. Paul saw at Troas in the early autumn of 51 A.D. marks a definite and important stage in the Church's advance. It needed a vision to induce St. Peter to cross the barrier between Jew and Gentile: a vision was also required to carry St. Paul across from Asia into Europe. We may well believe that the Apostle's eyes had long been turned wistfully towards Rome. It was not reluctance that held him back, rather nervousness bred of eager longing, and intensified by the double forbiddal with which the inner voice had recently met his attempts to attack the provinces of Asia and Bithynia.[1]

St. Paul's vision at Troas.

When we pass from Asia Minor into Europe, our information as regards the first century sensibly diminishes. Our knowledge is almost entirely confined to St. Luke's narrative of the second and third journeys, and to St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, Thessalonians, Corinthians, and Romans, with a few allusions in the Pastoral Epistles and in non-canonical writers. As a consequence our information is, in some respects, fairly ample for the

Documents for primitive Christianity in Europe.

[1] Acts xvi. 6, 7.

period 50–60 A.D.: but, after that, almost entirely ceases, though archaeology has contributed interesting details relating to the Church in Rome.

The embarkation at Troas initiates a new departure. If members of the Twelve did indeed cross the Hellespont and end their days in Achaia, it was probably at a later date: for the narrative gives no hint of any traces of previous evangelistic work, save such as Jewish thought had unconsciously achieved, preparing groups of "devout" and "God-fearing" souls among their Gentile neighbours capable of welcoming the message when it should come. Moreover St. Paul's well-known policy[1] is against the supposition that any missionary had preceded him. St. Andrew was still, presumably, in Pontus and Paphlagonia. If Silas settled at Corinth, it was after the death of his leader: and St. Philip's visit to Athens, if authentic, will come later than that of St. Paul. Some of the features of the work in Asia Minor repeat themselves, notably Jewish opposition and persecution. In Macedonia the Jews were far less numerous than in Asia Minor—at Thessalonica it is noted as remarkable that "there was a synagogue of the Jews"—yet they stirred up the city rabble against Paul, and pursued him with their calumnies to Beroea, and afterward conspired against him more than once at Corinth and Cenchreae. Another feature, in which the new work reproduced the old, is the clashing of Christian teaching with the vested interests of paganism. As, later on, at Ephesus and in Bithynia, so too at Philippi, interfer-

St. Paul's European mission a new departure.

Parallel between European and Asiatic work.

[1] Rom. xv. 20 *sq.*

ence with such "hope of gains" ranged itself with Jewish jealousy and bigotry in rendering Christianity unpopular.

Contrasted conditions.

The western atmosphere, however, shows marked differences from that across the Aegean. St. Paul is caught more and more into the vortex of Roman judicial procedure; and, though he does not actually stand upon his Roman citizenship either at Philippi or at Corinth, at the moment of trial he employs it in the former case for the recovery of prestige. Its value is evidently becoming evident to him, and his mind working up to that *Appello ad Caesarem!* which was ultimately to waft him to Rome. The judicial proceedings against St. Paul on this missionary journey are interesting in more ways than one. Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, brother of the philosopher Seneca, dismisses at once the charge brought by the Corinthian Jews as irrelevant: the "law-breaking" they complain of is merely a question of "their own law," of "words and names," in fact. The earlier accusations are taken more seriously, and represent two typical phases of the relation of Christianity to the civil power. At Philippi, where there was no synagogue, the missionaries were regarded as "Jews" pure and simple, and were vaguely charged with the introduction of "unlawful customs" in a city proud of its Roman status. At Thessalonica, where Jewish jealousy roused the rabble against St. Paul and his comrades, no such confusion was possible. Here the charge, couched in words which testify to the enormous impression made by the recent campaigns in Asia Minor—"Those that have turned the world up-

St. Paul in Roman law-courts.

side down are come hither also"—is precisely that which they had brought against Jesus before Pilate, a charge of *laesa majestas:* and it is brought against the whole body of Christians.

For the rest, the more western atmosphere is distinctly less fervent than that of Asia Minor. The Christianity of Macedonia and Greece, though a great comfort and satisfaction to St. Paul in his lifetime, never had the vigorous individuality of that of Asia Minor, Syria, Armenia, and Egypt.[1] Corinth held an important place in early Christendom, as was all but inevitable in view of its material greatness; and Athens, two or three centuries later, produced or moulded a succession of keen Christian intelligences, to whom St. Paul's teaching, as exemplified in the narrative of the Acts, furnished (as it were) an initial inspiration: but it never attained the vigorous Church life of an Antioch or an Ephesus.

Less fervent atmosphere of the West.

On the north-west fringe of Macedonia, Dalmatia, whither Titus departed from Rome in 66 A.D.,[2] was early Christianised. The numerous Christian inscriptions which proclaim this are mostly of the third century or later: but one, at least,[3] carries us back to the beginning of the second. The Illyrian territory, further south along the Adriatic coast, was visited by St. Paul himself,[4] and so was Nicopolis in the extreme south of Epirus:[5] but it is for the cities along the Aegean coast, especially Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth, that we have the fullest information. As far as Beroea, the

Missions to Macedonia.

[1] See Harnack, ii. 236. [2] 2 Tim. iv. 10. [3] See Harnack, ii. 238
[4] Rom. xv. 19. [5] Titus iii. 12.

first missionaries followed the Via Egnatia, the northern route between Italy and the East, which from Philippi (with its port of Neapolis connecting it with the land route and sea routes of Troas) passes westward to the Adriatic coast at Dyrrhachium.[1] Philippi, Amphipolis, Apollonia, Thessalonica, and Beroea are all upon this road; and Philippi, as the "first city of Macedonia" as one arrives from the east, had a special strategic importance. This, and the sentimental associations of the victory over Brutus and Cassius, won Augustus' special favour for the Macedonian city, whose importance was enhanced by the vicinity of gold mines. Philippi became a Roman colony, a detached portion of the Roman State, with free colonist-citizens, discharged veterans, ruled by *Duumviri* attended by *lictors*, who were allowed to style themselves "praetors." Here, as at Lystra, the Jewish nucleus was insignificant in numbers: but Philippi, like Lystra, produced an eminent Christian household. Lydia of Thyatira, one of St. Paul's audience at the "praying-place" by the river, was baptized with her whole household; and her house became, no doubt, the first rendezvous of the Philippian Church. The imprisonment of Paul and Silas led to the conversion of another household, that of the jailer. The extant Epistle to the Philippian Church supplies us with a few more names: Euodia and Syntyche,[2] prominent members of a community whose nucleus was women:[3] Epaphroditus,[4] who bore gifts from the

Philippi.

St. Paul's Epistle.

[1] On Via Egnatia, see Hastings' *Dict.*, vol. v., pp. 377–8.

[2] Phil. iv. 2. One of these is sometimes identified with Lydia.

[3] Acts xvi. 13. [4] Phil. iv. 18.

Church to St. Paul in his Roman prison, and Clement (not he of Rome), members of a larger group of fellow-workers, who united in founding the church.[1] To these we may perhaps add Synzygus,[2] if it is a proper name, who seems to have been chief presbyter (practically "bishop" in the later sense) of a church which, when St. Paul wrote, was already organised under a settled ministry of presbyter-bishops and deacons.[3]

Of the subsequent history of this Church which made so good a start, nothing is known till the fourth century, except what may be extracted from the Epistle addressed to it by St. Polycarp, probably about the date when Pliny was writing about the Christian problem in Bithynia (*c.* 112 A.D.).

St. Polycarp's Epistle.

Valuable for its early testimony to the New Testament writings—it is saturated with the thought and phraseology of these, especially of 1 Peter, and eulogises St. Paul by name—it supplies little or no definite information as to the contemporary condition of the Church. There is an apparent warning against Docetic heresy,[4] a lament at the unfaithfulness of a presbyter named Valens (the name is very frequent in inscriptions found at Philippi) and his wife,[5] and a commendation of a certain Crescens, the bearer of the letter, who, with his sister, is to take up residence in Philippi.[6]

Two other names are supplied to us by the same Epistle, Zosimus and Rufus, who, on the strength of this reference, appear as martyred at Philippi in the Roman Martyrology. These two names occur together

[1] Phil. iv. 3. [2] *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.* [3] Phil. i. 1.
[4] Poly., *Phil.*, vii. [5] *Ibid.*, xi. [6] *Ibid.*, xiv.

with that of Valens on a single inscription at Philippi: but the three persons mentioned by Polycarp may have been Christians (e.g. from Bithynia) who passed through Philippi with St. Ignatius on their way to martyrdom at Rome.[1]

Philippi has now entirely disappeared, and is represented by insignificant ruins on a hillside. Its neighbour Thessalonica has been more fortunate. The modern Saloniki with its seventy thousand inhabitants (of whom twenty thousand are Jews) ranks as second city in European Turkey. Its imposing mosques bear witness to the grandeur of former Christian churches. Here St. Paul, who was entertained by Jason, probably an influential fellow countryman, found a considerable Jewish colony, with a synagogue of their own, which the Apostle, "as his manner was," adopted as his first base of operations. For three successive Sabbaths the Jews and the interested fringe of devout Gentiles listened to the message of a crucified and risen Messiah, none other than Jesus of Nazareth. As a result "some" Jews were converted, and "a great multitude" of devout Gentiles, with "not a few" of "the principal" women. After these three weeks of preaching in the synagogue, and before the riot which ended in the abrupt departure of the missionaries, we must probably interpose a month or so of work among the Gentiles. It is a prevailingly Gentile Church to which St. Paul addresses his Epistles—converts who had been won over from idolatry.[2] They display the characteristic

Thessalonica.

[1] *Ibid.*, ix. (See Lightfoot's note *ad loc.*)
[2] 1 Thess. i. 9. Cf. ii. 14.

Macedonian virtues, courage, generosity, perseverance, and independence of spirit—an independence apt to degenerate into undue self-assertion and disregard of authority.[1] Speculation on the Second Advent of Christ had unsettled them, and led to disorderly living: yet they had stood firm in face of hot persecution, and were already in the first year or so of their life as a Church, an example to the whole of Macedonia and Achaia. Of the primitive Church at Thessalonica we have no further knowledge. We cannot however fail to note here as elsewhere the detailed accuracy of the historian. The mention of the *Demos* or "people," before whom St. Paul's assailants wished to drag him,[2] is appropriate to a free city, and the unique title, *Politarchs*, given to the magistrates receives corroboration from a local inscription of about 69–79 A.D.

Athens, the classic university of the ancient world, must have been an interesting environment for the man who, a few years later, proclaimed himself with what might have been his last breath a citizen of philosophic Tarsus.[3] If the unique assemblage of perfect statuary which adorned her streets and porticoes made no effectual appeal to the mind of Gamaliel's pupil, still the academic atmosphere must have been charged with congenial reminiscences, for one brought up amid the traditions of a citizenship moulded by the Stoic Athenodorus and Nestor. Athens.

St. Paul's work at Athens was unpremeditated. He was waiting there for Silas and Timothy; and his soul

[1] 1 Thess. v. 14; 2 Thess. iii. 6, 7.
[2] Acts xvii. 5. [3] Acts xxi. 39.

of a Pharisee burned within him at the sight of so much idolatry. Here, as usual, he began in the synagogue: but between Sabbath and Sabbath he held daily discussions in the Agora, where Socrates had done the same centuries before. Eventually he attracted the interest of some of the Stoic and Epicurean philosophers, who—half in jest and half in earnest—led him up to the Areopagus; and sat at his feet while he preached to them "Jesus and the Resurrection."

His remarkable discourse delivered to that remarkable audience and in that classic environment evidences the early training of Saul of Tarsus.

The Stoic influence so strong in Saul's native city was in many ways parallel to Pharisaism, at least on the surface. St. Paul is clearly preaching *to* the Stoics, who with him believe in a spiritual God, a common humanity, the claim of moral law, and the reality of a future life: his teaching is directed *against* the Epicureans, whose hedonistic doctrine is repugnant to his nature, and who, like the Sadducees, believe neither in future life nor in present Providence. The man of Tarsus quotes the Cilician poet Aratus and the Stoic Cleanthes—"your own poets"—to drive home his argument.

Scanty results are claimed for the Apostle's short stay in Athens,[1] and we are not told of any other visit: though such may have taken place in the course of his subsequent travels, and possibly in the year before his martyrdom. Dionysius and Damaris are the only two names that remain to us of the little group that was to be the nucleus of the Church at Athens.

[1] Acts xvii. 34.

It was inevitable that Dionysius, the one male convert mentioned in the New Testament and a man of eminence in his city as member of the Areopagitic Council, should be claimed as "first bishop of Athens."

Dionysius the Areopagite.

Such, as a fact, is the tradition recorded by his namesake, Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* 160 A.D.).[1] But it may be worth while to point out that the reasons for the fact coincide with the reasons for the tradition: it was almost equally inevitable that Dionysius, being what he was, should have actually presided over the Church in which he held from the first so distinguished a place. He must have been already an elderly man when converted, and can hardly have survived the century. Yet it need not necessarily be a misnomer to call him "bishop" in the second-century sense, considering the earlier analogy of St. James at Jerusalem.

To identify Dionysius of Athens with "St. Denys" of France, as does another legend preserved by Nicephorus, involves an anachronism of a couple of centuries. We cannot picture him as beheaded at Montmartre, the "Martyr's Mount," any more than we can regard him as author of the fifth or sixth century treatise on the Angelic Hierarchy. He was more probably martyred at Athens under Domitian. Among his successors, his namesake of Corinth mentions Publius, after whose martyrdom the Athenian Church all but apostatised, and Quadratus who collected and revived the scattered flock in the days of Marcus Aurelius.[2] It is a small and uninfluential com-

Later history of Athenian Church.

[1] Quoted by Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 4. [2] Ap. Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 23.

munity, this Athenian Church of sub-Apostolic times, yet Athens produced a chain of distinguished individuals with a philosophic bent, beginning with the two earliest of the apologists—Quadratus, an earlier namesake of the bishop and one who had "listened to Apostles,"[1] and Aristides whose work has recently been discovered. These two addressed apologies to Hadrian on his visit to Athens in 125 A.D. Of that of Quadratus but a few words remain.[2]

Origen, who himself studied at Athens early in the third century, speaks of the Athenian Church as an "orderly and peaceable body,"[3] contrasting it with the disorderly civic assembly of the same city.

Corinth.

The fifty miles' journey from Athens to Corinth introduced St. Paul into an entirely different atmosphere. "It was like passing from Oxford to London";[4] from an academic "home of lost causes" to a busy centre of cosmopolitan energy. The Corinth of St. Paul's day was an entirely new and Roman city, a colony, "Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthus," founded in 46 B.C. by Julius Caesar on the ruins of the old Greek city destroyed by Mummius a century earlier. Politically the capital of the province of Achaia, its geographical position gave it a further importance; and it soon achieved a prosperity beyond that of the former city. Commanding as it did the isthmus, it was at once a link between Northern and Southern Hellas, and a station of the

[1] Euseb., *Chron.*, sub ann. 124–5 A.D.

[2] Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 3. Quadratus speaks of some of the subjects of Christ's miracles of healing as having survived to his own day.

[3] *C. Cels*, iii. 30 (Harnack, ii. 232).

[4] Rackham, *Acts*, p. 321.

first magnitude upon the shortest route between Asia and Rome, *via* Ephesus, Corinth, Brindisi. Here, for the first time since he sailed from Paphos in 47 A.D., St. Paul finds himself face to face with a Roman proconsul: here for the first time "Rome" appears in St. Luke's narrative of his life, in the meeting with Aquila and Prisca. That narrative devotes to Corinth no more than seventeen verses: but St. Paul himself furnishes us with ample material in his two extant Epistles to the Corinthians—two out of a series of four or more, of which the rest are lost—besides the scattered hints to be gathered from those to the Thessalonians, written at Corinth during this first visit (51 A.D.), and that to the Romans, penned during a second visit in the winter of 56–7 A.D., a visit of nearly three months, which St. Luke passes over in eight words.[1]

Aquila and Prisca, or Priscilla, figure considerably in the Acts. We have already had occasion to mention them in connexion with Pontus, Aquila's birthplace, and with Ephesus, whither they accompanied St. Paul when he left Corinth. They will meet us again when we come to deal with the Roman Church. At Corinth their rôle is primarily that of Paul's first hosts, companions, and fellow craftsmen. It was a welcome meeting for one who had arrived in a weak and nervous state alone in this exuberantly lively and busy city. Aquila and Prisca were probably already Christians; and from them St. Paul may have come to know by name a number of those Roman brethren whom he greets in the letter written from Corinth

Aquila and Prisca.

[1] Acts xx. 2, 3.

on the next visit (56–7 A.D.). With them the Apostle spent the first weeks of his residence in Corinth, in quiet converse and industrious tent-making, varied by preaching in the synagogue on the Sabbath. At first, as his later correspondence shows,[1] he was ill and anxious, waiting in suspense for the arrival of Silas and Timothy, and for news of the recently founded Macedonian churches. Yet some progress was made: Stephanas, "the first-fruits of Achaia," baptized by St. Paul's own hands, was converted with his whole household,[2] and Gaius, the Apostle's host in his second visit,[3] whom he also baptized himself, contrary to his usual custom.[4] When spring reopened the season of navigation, and Silas and Timothy arrived with cheering news from Thessalonica[5] and monetary help from Philippi,[6] which gave him fresh courage and also leisure to devote his time to the Gospel, he assumed at once a bolder tone. The Jews respond with opposition and blasphemy. A scene follows like that enacted at Antioch in Pisidia four years before.[7] A formal breach is made, the synagogue deserted, and the band of believers led across the street to the house of the influential Gentile convert Titus Justus, whose social standing probably gave a new impulse to the spread of the Gospel among the Roman citizens in Corinth. The proximity to the synagogue laid the Christians and their leader open to insults and plots from the Jews, whose jealous spirit

Arrival of Silas and Timothy.

Jewish hostility.

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 3.
[2] 1 Cor. i. 16; xvi. 15.
[3] Rom. xvi. 23.
[4] 1 Cor. i. 14.
[5] 1 Thess. iii. 1–8.
[6] Phil. iv. 15; 2 Cor. xi. 9.
[7] Acts xviii. 6; cf. xiii. 46.

was further exasperated by the conversion of no less a person than their ruler of the synagogue, Crispus, whose entire household accepted the new faith.[1] At this point St. Paul had one of those visions by which his movements were guided from time to time.[2] It marks a new stage in his activity, and determines him to remain another year and a half in a city where he is conscious of many and powerful enemies. Henceforth the "fear and trembling" of his preaching is transformed into "demonstration of the Spirit and of power";[3] and his apostolate accredited by "signs and wonders,"[4] as at Ephesus some two years later.[5] The Church gains ground speedily; and the Jews are roused to an organised effort such as had resulted in the Apostle's expulsion from many a former sphere of labour. Gallio, brother of Nero's tutor Seneca, and uncle of the poet Lucan, became proconsul of Achaia about 52 A.D. His reputation for amiability had probably preceded him; and was interpreted by the Jewish quarter as a ready flexibility to pressure. The Jews, therefore, arose *en masse* and made a tumult, attempting (as a sequel) to get St. Paul convicted on a vague charge of "law-breaking." With the recent banishment of their countrymen from Rome before their eyes, they probably did not dare to risk so specific a charge as that of *laesa majestas* adduced at Thessalonica. Gallio refused to consider the charge, which, indeed, did not fall under his jurisdiction; and the only result was a beating for Crispus' successor Sosthenes, the new

St. Paul before Gallio.

[1] Acts xviii. 8; 1 Cor i. 14.
[2] Acts xviii. 9; cf. xvi. 9; xxii. 18; 2 Cor. xii. 1–4.
[3] 1 Cor. ii. 3, 4. [4] 2 Cor. xii. 12. [5] Acts xix. 12.

ruler of the synagogue. The significance of this arraignment before Gallio will be considered elsewhere: here we may note that the Jews did not, as on other occasions, succeed in their object. Paul was not driven away: he tarried in Corinth "after this yet many days": though we have no record of the details of his work.

Apollos at Corinth.

Some time after his departure for Syria, and before his other recorded visit to Achaia, Apollos paid a visit to the Corinthian Church, fresh from the instructions of Aquila and Prisca, and bearing their letters of commendation. He led a fresh assault upon the citadel of Judaism;[1] and his eloquence and knowledge of Scripture seem to have created a strong impression. Alexandrian Judaism corroborated the Pharisaism of Tarsus on the Messiahship of Jesus.

Composition of the Corinthian Church.

The composition of the Corinthian Church, as may be inferred from the Acts and the Epistles, was very varied, but with a large preponderance of Gentiles, and more especially of the humbler classes of the Greek population, including a proportion of slaves.[2] There were, however, some Jews, chiefly the product of St. Paul's earlier campaign before Silvanus and Timothy joined him, and of the subsequent labours of Apollos.[3] Crispus, at his conversion, probably carried over not a few of his co-religionists. There was also a sprinkling of influential families of the Roman citizen class, such as Titus Justus who harboured the Church in his house,[4] Gaius who seems to have taken his place as

[1] Acts xviii. 27, 28.
[2] 1 Cor. i. 27, 28; vii. 22
[3] Acts xviii. 4, 28; 1 Cor. ix. 20.
[4] Acts xviii. 7.

"host . . . of the whole Church" later on, Erastus the treasurer of the city,[1] and Stephanas for whom St. Paul claims a deferential attitude from the Church.[2]

Environment and character of Corinthian Christianity.

The Gentile converts had been rescued from an environment perhaps the most licentious in all the ancient world, in a city dedicated to the lustful corruptions of the worship of Aphrodite. The Corinthians were proverbial in the ancient world for drunkenness and sensuality; and the strong phrases used by St. Paul in his two extant Epistles show how difficult it was for his converts to disentangle themselves from the associations of their former life.[3] Characteristic also of this centre of cultured frivolity was a spirit of shallow intellectual vanity tending to contentiousness, which soon showed itself in those factions—the parties of "Paul," "Apollos," and "Cephas"—which figure largely in the Apostle's correspondence, a "seditious" spirit which reappears some forty years afterwards in St. Clement's Epistle. This is not the place to enter into the intricacies of discussion concerning the Corinthian faction; but we cannot fail to see in the "Cephas party"—which led Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* 170 A.D.) to imagine St. Peter joint founder of the Church with St. Paul—a Judaistic tendency analogous to that which had asserted itself everywhere in reaction from the Pauline teaching—a school which, if it did not dare to demand circumcision as a necessary preliminary to baptism, at any rate desired to bring Gentile converts as far as possible under the yoke of the Law.

[1] Rom. xvi. 23. [2] 1 Cor. i. 16; xvi. 15.
[3] 1 Cor. v. 9 *sqq.*; vi. 9–11; 2 Cor. iv. 2, etc.

The Corinthian correspondence of St. Paul is rich in interesting problems, some of which will be treated elsewhere—questions of doctrine, of ceremony, of conduct—problems connected with the ministry and the Sacraments, the nature of the Church, the relation of believers to their idolatrous surroundings, freedom and slavery, marriage and celibacy, Church discipline, the use and abuse of spiritual gifts. These two letters form a rich mine of illustration of the many sides of Church life; and not unnaturally, because, for good and ill, Corinth was perhaps more intensely alive than any other city of the period.

St. Paul's two periods of residence in Corinth, if not so far-reaching in their effect as was the longer visit to Ephesus[1] which intervened, must have spread the influence of Christianity far beyond the walls of the city: for the Second Epistle is addressed to "all the saints which are in the whole of Achaia."[2] The only other place mentioned by name in the New Testament is the Aegean port of Corinth, Cenchreae, where Phoebe ministered as deaconess,[3] a church whose first bishop is, by a later tradition, said to have been appointed by St. Paul. But the further spread of the faith inland is witnessed by the fact that in the second century, there was a church of some importance at Lacedaemon, to which Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, addressed an epistle.[4] The tradition that St. Andrew laboured in Achaia has been already alluded to: and if it is to be trusted, it gives us in Patrae, the reputed place of his martyrdom, another early centre

Christianity outside the city.

Cenchreae.

[1] Acts xix. 10.
[2] 1 Cor. i. 1.
[3] Rom. xvi. 1.
[4] Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 23.

of Christianity. Nor may we disregard altogether the story that Paul's faithful companion Luke took up work in the province after the Apostle's death, and ended his days there.

The last glimpse vouchsafed to us of the Corinthian Church within the first century is that mirrored in the Epistle of St. Clement of Rome (*c.* 95 A.D.). His language suggests that, for a time, after the sharp rebuke administered by St. Paul, the Church had become a model of faith, sobriety, piety, hospitality, modesty, chastity, and obedience—"revered and renowned and lovely in the sight of all men"[1]—but that the old factious tendency had since broken out afresh, showing itself especially in a spirit of insubordination to the Apostolic ministry.[2] For the credit of the Church we must add one more reference, though it strictly lies outside the Apostolic Age. Hegesippus journeying from the east to Rome passed through Corinth about 145 A.D., when Primus was bishop, and testifies to the hospitable spirit of the Corinthians and the long-established orthodoxy of their belief.[3]

Clement's Letter.

Testimony of Hegesippus.

Corinth played no mean part in the history of early Christianity: her early bishops, Primus, Dionysius,[4] Bacchylus,[5] were men of mark and influence; and though reduced to a mere village to-day, she still remains the seat of a bishop. Her supreme significance to St. Paul was probably the fact that Corinth was an outpost of Christianity on the way to Rome.

[1] Clem., *Cor.*, i. [2] *Ibid.*, lvii., lxiii. [3] Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 22.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv. 23. [5] *Ibid.*, v. 22.

CHAPTER X

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY: ITALY AND THE WEST

Paucity of evidence for primitive Western Christianity.

WHEN we pass from Corinth across the Adriatic, and enter the regions whose civilisation and culture has found a nursing-mother in Western Christianity, we find ourselves almost without evidence of any kind for the spread of Christianity in the first century. For Rome itself we have documents and inscriptions: but for the rest of Italy next to nothing. For Gaul and Spain in the north, as for Egypt, Cyrene, Numidia, and Mauretania on the south coast of the Mediterranean, we have neither documents nor inscriptions to aid us. Spain is mentioned only in a single passage of the New Testament, where St. Paul expresses his intention of journeying thither.[1] Its "early Christian inscriptions" are forgeries.[2] Nor, for Gaul, do we get any help from inscriptions: while it is not certain whether European Gaul is named or not in the New Testament.

The history of the Church in Numidia begins with the story of the Scilitan martyrs in 180 A.D.[3] Of Cyrenaica we seem to hear a good deal in the Acts

[1] Rom. xv. 24, 28. [2] Harnack, ii. 298, note 1.
[3] Harnack, ii. 277.

yet the Cyrenians we meet, whether among St. Peter's audience at Pentecost, or among St. Stephen's in their own synagogue at Jerusalem, or preaching in company with Cypriot evangelists at Antioch,[1] are invariably away from their own country. The same is true of that Simon of Cyrene, the bearer of the Saviour's cross, whose sons, Alexander and Rufus—the latter possibly identical with the Rufus whom, with his mother, St. Paul greets among the Roman Christians in 56,[2] were evidently known to the Christian circles for whom St. Mark wrote.[3] In some of those named and unnamed "men of Cyrene" we may possibly see the Apostles of the Pentapolis.

Africa: Numidia and Cyrenaica.

Of Egypt, the New Testament has less to say. Egyptian Jews were present at Pentecost; and the Alexandrians had a synagogue in which St. Stephen argued: Alexandrian corn-ships wafted St. Paul on his way to Rome[4]—a significant hint of the constant traffic between the great Egyptian emporium and the ports of the Eastern Mediterranean. Finally, the fact that Apollos hailed from Alexandria[5] suggests (if it does not prove) that, previous to his appearance on the scene in 54 A.D., an imperfect form of Christianity had found its way to the mouth of the Nile.

Egypt.

Alexandria, with its immense Jewish population who held in their hands a large proportion of its wealth and commerce, offered an ideal centre for the propagation of the Gospel. Illustrious, with Athens and Tarsus, among the intellectual centres of antiquity, and important

Importance of Alexandria.

[1] Acts ii. 10; vi. 9; xi. 20; xiii. 1.
[2] Rom. xvi. 13.
[3] Mark xv. 21.
[4] Acts xxvii. 6: xxviii. 11
[5] Acts xviii. 24.

above all as the historic meeting-place of Hellenism and Judaism, the home of the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures—it must certainly have been evangelised in quite early times. Yet as regards positive contemporary evidence, the Alexandrian Church, which does not "emerge into daylight" till 180 A.D., represents, as Harnack observes, "the worst gap in our knowledge of early Church history."[1]

Tradition of St. Mark at Alexandria.

The tradition preserved by Eusebius is that St. Mark founded the Church of Alexandria, preaching there the Gospel which he had written: that he was succeeded in the administration of that "parish" or diocese by Annianus (whom he calls "first bishop" of Alexandria)[2] in the eighth year of Nero (62 A.D.); and that Annianus, after ruling twenty-two years, was succeeded by Abilius the second bishop, in the fourth year of Domitian (85 A.D.), Cerdon following him in the first year of Trajan (98 A.D.).[3]

For the foundation of the Church by St. Mark, Eusebius names no authority other than the vague "it is said": yet, in default of other evidence, it would seem rash to reject a tradition which involves in itself no real absurdity or inconsistency.

There may be some chronological difficulty involved in the view that he went to Alexandria before 62 A.D. with his Gospel already written: but there is none in the supposition that his Gospel, as we have it, represents the substance of what he preached there, perfected, perhaps, in the course of subsequent intercourse with St. Peter.

[1] Harnack, ii. 158.
[2] Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 16 and 24.
[3] Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 14, 21.

In any case Eusebius' description of the "multitude of believers, both men and women," who joined the Church at Alexandria, and of the ascetic and philosophical tendencies of the primitive community in that city,[1] accords well with what we know both of the pagan-Jewish Alexandria of the first century, and of the Alexandrian Church when it first emerges on the stage of history.

Turning to Spain, we find that the inference usually drawn from the expression in the Epistle to the Romans[2] is corroborated by the testimony of St. Clement's letter (*c.* 95 A.D.), and by that of the Muratorian Fragment (*c.* 170 A.D.). Spain is almost certainly meant by the former, when he speaks of St. Paul as having reached, before his martyrdom, "the furthest bounds of the West":[3] while the later document refers to the "setting out of Paul from the city for Spain" as a known fact, but one outside the scope of St. Luke's narrative.

Spain: evangelised by St. Paul.

The familiar legend which connects St. James the son of Zebedee with the evangelisation of the peninsula is as unconvincing as is that of the voyage of his martyred body under angel guidance to that country, and the prodigies which led to the famous cult of Compostela (Jacomo Postolo) in the Middle Ages. It cannot be traced back beyond the ninth century, and is in any case discrepant with the earliest evidence we possess. If we are to trust the early tradition already referred to, that the Twelve remained in Jerusalem for twelve years after the

Legend of St. James.

[1] Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 16. [2] Rom. xv. 24, 28. [3] Clem, *Cor.*, v.

Ascension,[1] no time is left for this mission of St. James. But still more decisive is the witness of St. Paul, who, when he alludes to his prospective visit to Spain, does so immediately after enunciating his guiding principle "making it my aim so to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was already named, that I might not build upon another man's foundation."[2] This was in 56, more than a dozen years after St. James' martyrdom.

Probable course of evangelisation.

We may, then, picture the Apostle as landing, perhaps, at Tarragona, after a week's voyage from the port of Ostia, soon after his release from imprisonment in 62. He would find himself in a country intensely Romanised.[3] Tarraco itself had been made the seat of government by Augustus, who planted Roman civilisation also far inland up the Ebro at Saragossa (Caesaraugusta). Two good Roman roads led southward from Tarraco, one skirting the coast as far as Carthagena, the other further west — the direct line from the Rhone valley through Narbonne to Cordova and Seville in the valley of the Guadalquiver. We can only conjecture that St. Paul, in all probability, took one or other of these roads, most likely the coast road, for it is in the two districts of Tarragona and Carthagena that Christianity seems first to have found a stable footing. There we must leave the matter. Clear statistics are lacking for the first two centuries. It is St. Cyprian who first puts us into definite relations with Spanish Church life, and that in a way by no means creditable to the Spanish Christendom of his day, which apparently exhibited strong tendencies

[1] See above, ch. iv., p. 76. [2] Rom. xv. 20.
[3] See quotations in Harnack, ii. 297, 298.

towards secularism, and a shameful compromise with heathen life and customs.[1] In his time, besides the churches which certainly existed in cities like Tarragona, Seville, and Cordova, Leon, Astorga, Merida, and Saragossa are named as the seats of Christian communities.

For Gaul the New Testament evidence is still more meagre and precarious than that which has been produced in favour of an Apostolic visit to Spain. It depends on a doubtful reading (*Gallia* for *Galatia*) in a single passage, or on a doubtful interpretation of the word *Galatia*, which is made to refer, in this one passage alone in the New Testament, to the Gallic territory in Europe and not that in Asia Minor.[2] In virtue of this interpretation, the Church of Vienne in the Rhone Valley claims Crescens as her founder, an emissary of the "Prisoner of the Lord," sent forth by him to Gaul, as Titus to Dalmatia, shortly before his martyrdom. But the likelihood of an evangelisation of some points in Southern Gaul during the Apostolic Age cannot be said to depend on this passage alone.

Gaul: paucity of evidence.

The picturesque legend which wafts the inmates of the house at Bethany from Palestine to Marseilles in a boat without oar or sail has no more historical foundation than that which brings St. James the Great to Spain. St. Mary (confused with the Magdalen) and St. Martha probably never set foot outside Palestine; and it is extremely unlikely that Lazarus was first bishop of Marseilles. More probable it would seem—though still hypothesis—that St. Paul in his voyage from Rome to Spain may have

Legend of Lazarus and his sisters.

Possible course of evangelisation.

[1] *Ep.*, lxvii (Harnack, ii. 299). [2] 2 Tim. iv. 10.

touched at some port in Southern Gaul, and have planted there the seed which he afterwards, as some hold, sent Crescens to water and cultivate. A continuation of the Via Aurelia which skirted the north-west coast of Italy, the *Riviera di Levante*, passed on from Genoa along the *Riviera di Ponente* through Albenga to Fréjus (Forum Julii). Thence it turned inland to Arles, whence it followed the Rhone Valley northwards to Lyons. Across the Rhone a good road led on through Nîmes (Nemausus) to Tarragona in Spain.

Along this Riviera road—a very rude predecessor of Napoleon's splendid *Cornice*—St. Paul may possibly have passed.[1] He was not a man to be dismayed by the prospect of an arduous tramp. If he took this route, Marseilles would have been slightly off the track, but not far enough to daunt the man whom we have watched climbing the steep path from Pamphylia to the Pisidian highlands with malaria still upon him.

Marseilles a probable starting-point.

The sea-voyage would, however, have been vastly more direct; and, in a voyage from Ostia to Tarraco, Massilia, a Greek colony of long-standing importance, would be a natural port of call. And, though we have no positive evidence of a church anywhere in Gaul during the first century, the inferential arguments for a church at Marseilles (whether founded by St. Paul or not) have considerable weight. The coast of Southern Gaul had been Hellenised from a remote period; and there more Greek than Latin was spoken, even till the end of the third century; and also there was always a certain amount of intercourse between this district and Asia Minor. Our first important Gallic Christian

[1] Ramsay, in Hastings' *Dict.*, vol. v, p. 392.

document is a witness that these relations continued between the Christian communities of the districts in question towards the end of the second century; and that the language of their intercourse was Greek. It is the famous letter, addressed by the Christian communities at Vienne and Lyons on the Rhone to the churches of Asia and Phrygia, describing the persecution that had befallen them in the seventeenth year of M. Aurelius (i.e. 177 A.D.).[1]

Lyons and Vienne.

Vienne is only mentioned in connexion with its martyred deacon Sanctus, who suffered, it would seem, at Lyons; and the unwarranted inference has been drawn that there was as yet no bishop at Vienne. The names of the martyrs recorded suggest a mixed Greek and Latin population with a small Celtic element, and a church of considerable standing. The presence, which we may infer from the Epistle, of a purely Greek Christianity established so far inland by the middle of the second century, or earlier, presupposes a still earlier planting of the Gospel in the estuary of the Rhone. Possibly, then, the legend of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus may have at least one point of contact with history, seizing upon the spot where Christianity first touched the shores of Gaul. We may at any rate take for granted an early evangelisation of Marseilles and perhaps of Arles—associated traditionally with Trophimus—as well as of Lyons and Vienne.

It must be confessed that in Gaul as a whole the Gospel made very slow progress: but whether or not Vienne had a bishop of its own in 177 A.D.—and there

[1] Euseb., *H. E.*, v. 1.

is in its favour the fact that it lay in the same province as Marseilles, while Lyons was across the border—we have the name of the Lyons bishop, Pothinus;[1] and Eusebius tells us that he was then ninety years old.[2] Thus Pothinus must have been born in the middle of Domitian's reign, and have been a boy of twelve ere the first century closed. So he links his church with the Apostolic Age. His successor in the see, St. Irenaeus—possibly the writer of the letter in question—rendered his church famous throughout Christendom.

Britain.

If our data for Gaul are slender, the evidence for an Apostolic evangelisation of Britain is still more scanty. Britain was, in the first century, a "military province only veneered with Roman civilisation."[3] When that century closed the Romans had only known the island for some 150 years.[4] Communication between Rome and Britain was, in Julius Caesar's time, comparatively swift: but the letters which reached Cicero in twenty-three, twenty-seven, and twenty-nine days respectively were doubtless carried by special military couriers, and cannot be regarded as an index of normal facility of intercourse. The shortest route from Rome through Switzerland to Boulogne was about 1250 miles: and then there remained the formidable Channel to be crossed. Her first recorded martyr, St. Alban, is dated 303 A.D., and she first takes part in the comity of European Christendom at the Council of Arles in 314. Yet the absence of authentic records of primitive Christianity in Britain

[1] Euseb., *H. E.*, v. i. [2] *Ibid.*, v. 5. [3] Harnack, ii. 272.
[4] See references in Hastings' *Dict.*, vol. v., p. 392.

is only part of a general silence on the subject of her history. How Christianity first reached her shores we must be content not to know with any certainty.

It is extremely unlikely that St. Paul himself ever visited Britain: though such a journey might conceivably be covered (without altogether undue straining) by St. Clement's vague phrase, "the utmost bounds of the West." Nor can any credence be given to the legend which makes St. Joseph of Arimathea Britain's first Apostle. The story of his coming from Gaul with eleven others at the bidding of St. Philip in 63 A.D. (the probable year of St. Paul's visit to Spain) is first found as "hearsay" in William of Malmesbury; and the romance which makes him bring the Holy Grail to Glastonbury is probably an invention of Walter Map (*c.* 1200).[1] A germ of truth may lie in the legend, to wit, that the Gospel must almost certainly have come to Britain from Gaul, and may have established itself first, or very early, at Glastonbury. As for St. Philip's connexion with Gaul, there is no strong or early tradition in its favour.

Legend of St. Joseph of Arimathea.

The earliest name associated at once with Britain and with Christianity is that of Pomponia Graecina, wife of Aulus Plautius, who spent some time here at the head of the victorious Roman army, and was governor of Britain from 44 to 47 A.D.[2] Pomponia, of whom we shall have more to say in the next chapter, was probably (though not certainly) a Christian; and, though her

Pomponia Graecina.

[1] Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Joseph of Arimathea," p. 778.

[2] We have names of ten of Plautius' successors, carrying us down to the reign of Domitian (85 A.D.).

conversion would doubtless have taken place after her return to Rome, there are further possibilities associated with her name round which a modern "legend" has grown up. The Claudia and Pudens mentioned together with Linus at the end of St. Paul's latest Epistle[1] have been identified by some with a couple whose marriage is recorded by Martial in an Epigram written in the year 88 A.D. Martial's Claudia was a British princess, who presumably came to Rome in Pomponia's train. St. Paul's Pudens has further been identified with a son of Pudentinus who, in an inscription found at Chichester, is associated with a British king, Cogidubnus, hence presumed to be Claudia's father.

Claudia and Pudens.

The romance which would make this pair the first evangelists of Britain is as ingenious as it is attractive: but it appears inconsistent with the date of Martial's Epigram, and with the character of his friend Pudens; and it has against it also the order in which St. Paul mentions the three names, inserting Linus between the other two.[2] For the rest Pudens is a common name, and Claudia very common indeed both for members of the imperial family and its dependents and freedwomen or slaves.

With this romance perishes the one possibility of connecting British Christianity directly with St. Paul. There remains only the fact—of greater or less significance—that, well before the close of the first century, in a Rome in which the heads of society, and indeed all classes, were rapidly falling under the influence of Christian teaching, some of Britain's best blood was to be found. The unknown evangelists of

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 21. [2] Lightfoot, *Clement*, vol. i., p. 76 *sqq.*

these islands, whose work had at any rate left its mark by the time of Origen (*c.* 230 A.D.), may have been released captives or returned hostages who had learnt their Gospel lessons in Rome.[1]

Germany.

Germany need not detain us, for her own latest historian declares that her Church history begins with the statement of Irenaeus,[2] from which we can gather only the vague information that there were "churches planted in Germany before 185 A.D." When her Church appears upon the scene at Arles in 314 A.D., its representation is less impressive than that of the poverty-stricken Church of Britain.

Italy.

For Christianity in Italy outside Rome we have very little to go upon till the close of the second century. It is tempting to imagine that wherever St. Paul touched he must have sowed the seeds of a future church. Three days at Syracuse would not, however, leave a prisoner much opportunity of solid work, still less a single day at Reggio; and though previous Christians from the east would have touched at these same ports on their way to Rome, St. Luke's narrative has no mention of "brethren" in either city. The existing catacombs of Syracuse, and of Sicily in general, are of comparatively late date: though they may possibly carry our data back as early as the first half of the second century.[3]

Puteoli.

When we come to Pozzuoli (Puteoli) we are on firmer ground. This large and flourishing port, one of the two great corn-marts of the Alexandrian trade, was almost certainly the first landing-place of Christianity on Italian soil. Here,

[1] Hom. iv. 1 in Ezek. (Lomm., xiv., p. 59); Harnack, ii. 272.
[2] Iren., *Haer.*, i. 10; Harnack, ii. 269. [3] Harnack, ii. 254 *sq.*

when St. Paul arrived, he was welcomed by a Christian community, whose hospitality he and his companions enjoyed for an entire week.[1] Puteoli may well have been already an active centre for the spread of the faith: for there is evidence of a kind, though not incontrovertible, of the existence of Christianity at a very early date in Naples and Pompeii. In Naples the catacombs of St. Gennaro bespeak a Christianity as early as the second century;[2] and at Pompeii the doubtful inscription, "HRICTIAN," together with the other, "SODOMA GOMORA,"[3] so significant of the city's appalling fate, and the lamp bearing the well-known Christian monogram, if not conclusive as evidence, are at least worthy of consideration. Following in St. Paul's track along the Appian Way, we do not find any mention of resident Christians at Appii Forum or Tres Tabernae: but we know that the latter was the seat of a bishop a couple of centuries later.

Naples and Pompeii.

In North Italy, as in Gaul, the progress of Christianity was slow. Rimini and Milan seem to have been the principal centres from which the influence eventually radiated: but there is no evidence that either of them was evangelised in the Apostolic Age. And it is at least possible that the Gospel came to Upper Italy, not from Rome, but from Macedonia, by the road that led through Sardica and Sirmium.[4]

Northern Italy.

[1] Acts xxviii. 13, 14.
[2] Harnack, ii. 253.
[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 93.
[4] *Ibid.*, ii. 258.

CHAPTER XI

GENTILE CHRISTIANITY: ROME

"AND so we came to Rome"[1]—the goal of St. Luke's narrative and of St. Paul's evangelistic ambition.

Rome had a large and flourishing Jewish colony settled in the Trastevere quarter. As early as the second century B.C., we hear of Jewish embassies to Rome: the Asmonaean princes had cultivated friendly relations with the Senate and people, paralleled later by the personal intimacy of the imperial family at Rome with the Herodian dynasty.[2] But the importance of the colony dates from Pompey's conquest of Judaea in 63 B.C. Commercial advantages, backed by the kindness of Julius Caesar to the Jews, brought additions to swell the nucleus formed by Pompey's numerous captives; and inscriptions witness to the existence of half a dozen synagogues in the city.

Jewish colony in Rome.

Prosperity bred jealousy and suspicion. Already in Cicero's time the persistent influence and the perfect organisation of the Jews had induced a sort of fear of them akin to that felt in Russia to-day.[3] Tiberius[4] was moved to harsh measures in 19 A.D., and banished four thousand Jews to Sardinia in the secret hope,

[1] Acts xxviii. 14.
[2] 1 Macc. viii. 17 *sqq.*; xii. 1, 3.
[3] Cic., *Pro Flacco* (59 B.C.).
[4] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 85; Suet., *Tib.*, 66.

Tacitus implies, that the pestilent climate would kill them off; and Claudius,[1] in spite of his close friendship with Herod Agrippa I, to whom he was beholden, proceeded during his friend's absence from the city (50–2 A.D.) to expel all Jews from Rome. This was a temporary reaction in a policy generally favourable: but it affords a signal testimony to the importance of the Hebrew population.

The imperial city thus offered facilities for the planting of Christianity at least equal to those found in Hellenist cities of Seleucid origin—in the Antiochs, e.g., and in Alexandria. The Jewish leaven had been spread widely by proselytising — Poppaea, Nero's mistress, was a Jewess by religion—and, far beyond the range of the synagogue itself, there was a strong tendency towards monotheism, aided on the one hand by the diffusion of Jewish ideals, and on the other by the decay of pagan beliefs and the ascendency of the Stoic teaching represented by the influential personality of Seneca.

Origin of Christian Church obscure.

The actual origin of the Christian Church in Rome is, however, lost in obscurity. For its life and history in the latter half of the first century we have, indeed, more data than we have for Ephesus, Corinth, Jerusalem or Antioch. Besides minor notices, we have the witness of St. Paul's Epistle addressed to the Christians of Rome in 56–7 A.D., and St. Clement's written from Rome in their name in 95, and not a few archaeological data which carry us back to the first age. Pagan historians and other writers have described for us the Rome of that day, with its many contrasts, its

[1] Suet., *Claud.*, 25; Acts xviii. 2.

picturesque variety, its seething vitality, and their scanty references to Christianity (still largely confused with Judaism) are significant out of all proportion to their volume. We know by name at least thirty-six of the Church's members. We can begin to classify them as Gentiles or Jews, as slaves and freedmen, or members of the ruling race. We can group them in various centres. Yet we have no certain evidence as to the precise date or agency of the planting of Christianity in Rome.

St. Peter's connexion with Rome, and his martyrdom there, may be accepted without demur: but the tradition[1] of a twenty-five years' episcopate beginning in the reign of Claudius is open to grave chronological objection. If he had been in Rome, presiding over the Church, in 56 A.D. his name would unquestionably have headed the list of persons saluted in St. Paul's Epistle, in the place actually occupied by those of Prisca and Aquila; and the whole tone of the letter would doubtless have been modified. St. Paul speaks with authority as "Apostle of the Gentiles," to a church where he obviously feels that such an address will be welcomed as appropriate: there is no sign of another authority to be reckoned with, nor of that Judaistic tone in his readers which would surely have characterised a church of purely Petrine foundation. The community which St. Paul addresses is one, in fact, in which already reigns a Pauline circle of ideas, such as would point to the handiwork of Prisca and Aquila, or of others who like Epaenetus, Andronicus,

St. Peter traditional founder.

Difficulties of the theory.

[1] Jerome, *de Vir. illustr.*, c. i.; Euseb., *Chron.*, A.U.C. 791; *H. E.*, ii. 14.

and Junias, had been intimately associated with the Apostle of the Gentiles.[1] It is, further, apparently an acephalous community, or rather a group of small communities centring in this and that different "household." Again, the Church which he visits in 60 A.D. is one known to the Jewish colony only from without and by hearsay.[2] All these data tell clearly against a cut-and-dried theory of an original foundation by St. Peter. In fact, the only way in which it seems possible to reconcile with the evidence a previous visit of St. Peter, is to emphasise the importance of that event which first brought St. Paul into contact with Prisca and Aquila.

Claudius' edict of expulsion was from one point of view a singularly ineffective measure. Suetonius is no doubt right in saying he expelled them, as St. Luke, his senior and contemporary of the event, avers. But Dio Cassius, in view of the modified success and temporary effect of the edict, makes it rather a prohibition of meetings than an actual banishment, the Jews being too numerous for such a drastic measure.[3] In any case we find Aquila and Prisca established again in Rome half a dozen years later.

Bearing of Claudius' edict.

But, from another point of view, the temporary uprooting of the Jewish colony in Rome in 50 A.D. may well have produced as thorough a break in the continuity of the Christian Church in that city as that which resulted twenty years later from a far greater catastrophe in Jerusalem.

The Church at Rome in 56–7 A.D. may have been

[1] Rom. xvi. 5, 14, 15 ; Phil. iv. 22. [2] Acts xxviii. 22.
[3] Suet., *Claud.*, 25 ; Dio Cassius, IX, vi. 6 ; Acts xviii. 2.

no more continuous, in tendency and tradition, with the Church previous to 50, than was the Gentile community ruled by the "Bishop of Aelia," with the conservatively Judaistic body over which James and Simeon had presided.

The tumults which led to the edict—described somewhat unscientifically by Suetonius as raised by the Jews "at the instigation of Chrestus" —are no doubt Messianic riots, exhibiting a climax of jealous feeling against the new sect on the part of the fanatical Jews—something similar to what had occurred three years earlier in the Galatian cities, was to occur almost simultaneously in Macedonia, and a little later at Corinth and at Ephesus. It will probably mark a crisis also in the tendency of Roman Christianity, a "Lo, we turn to the Gentiles!" All this is scarcely the sort of thing likely to have happened to St. Peter, though it would be almost inevitable with evangelisation of the Pauline type. If, however, St. Peter were there, such events might have hastened his return to Jerusalem; and a solution of the impending problems at Rome would have formed an appropriate item for the agenda of the Council at Jerusalem.

Its causes.

Against such a supposition is the fact that St. Luke's account of the Council shows not the least reflection of such a situation either in St. Peter's utterances or elsewhere. St. Peter's arrival in Rome is now generally placed towards the end of St. Paul's first imprisonment (*c.* 62 A.D.); and the Eusebian tradition of a long and early episcopate is regarded as a result of that tendency to precision in the absence of exact data,

St. Peter probably after St. Paul.

which we constantly encounter in traditions that are not by any means without some point of contact with history. The foundation truth here will be that St. Peter had a hand with St. Paul in the establishment of the Roman Church, that he lived and worked and was martyred and buried in Rome. The form taken by the tradition will be due to the tendency of a time when, in connexion with "princely" claims, the prestige of the leader of the Apostles was becoming more and more exalted in Rome at the expense of St. Paul. Granting all this, we may still find probable the line of development sketched above.

Possible course of evangelisation.

When Prisca and Aquila meet St. Paul at Corinth after their expulsion, they are, it would seem, already Christians. Their unrecorded news of the Christian community that had been founded in Rome, and was for the moment largely dispersed, accounts in part for the numbers of brethren known by name to St. Paul before he had set foot in the city. The community was, clearly, in existence by 48 or 49 A.D.: how much earlier we cannot say. Its first seeds may have been sown by pilgrims from Pentecost before St. Paul's conversion. Among these may have been Aquila and Prisca, or that pair named shortly after them, Andronicus and Junias, whom St. Paul calls his "kinsmen and fellow prisoners," classing them with "Apostles,"[1] and implying that their conversion had preceded his own. Or the sower may have been himself the product of St. Paul's first or second missionary journey—like Epaenetus "the first-fruits of Achaia"—from one of those cities of Asia Minor, Macedonia, or Greece

[1] Rom. xvi. 7.

which enjoyed such quick and constant intercourse with the seat of empire. But the proverb that "all roads lead to Rome" was then so emphatically and literally true,[1] that it would be strange indeed if a new doctrine which had gained a footing in Palestine, in Syria, Cilicia, and Cyprus, in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Achaia, should have failed to reach the world's capital in the course of a few months from its first promulgation. Endless conjectures have been made besides those suggested above. Cornelius—if an Italian by race—may have been transferred to Italy after his baptism. His more eminent countryman, Sergius Paulus, must certainly have resigned his office as proconsul of Cyprus and returned to Rome by 51 A.D.[2] He can hardly have assisted at the planting of the Church; yet he may have helped to make its doctrines known among the ruling classes.

St. Paul's list of names.

The list of persons greeted by St. Paul in his Epistle has an interest beyond that afforded by the individual names. Those names themselves are indeed full of interest: some of them because of what we know of the persons already, as in the case of Prisca and Aquila and possibly of Rufus:[3] some for the vivid word or two in which the writer opens vistas for conjecture, as with Epaenetus and with Andronicus and Junias: others again for their possible identity with persons known to archaeology, as Ampliatus and Nereus, both of which names are preserved in the cemetery of Domitilla.

[1] See esp. Hastings' *Dict.*, s.v. "Roads and Travel," vol. v., p. 370.
[2] It is probable from inscriptions that in 51 Cordus was proconsul.
[3] Cf. Mark xv. 21.

But a point of special interest lies in the grouping of these names. Besides scattered individuals and pairs of names, there are at least five different groups mentioned. There is the Church that is in the house of Prisca and Aquila. There is the circle in which Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, and Hermes are named,[1] and the other consisting of Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas, "and all the saints that are with them."[2] Finally there are the two households of the *Narcissiani* and *Aristobuliani*, with which latter is perhaps to be classed the name Herodian which follows it. The two groups just cited have an additional interest as belonging, most probably, to the imperial household.[3] Narcissus, Claudius' notorious freedman, was put to death in the early years of Nero's reign, and his slaves were, no doubt, added to the great army of the Emperor's household, retaining, as was customary, the name *Narcissiani*. Similarly it is supposed that the younger Aristobulus, brother of Herod Agrippa I and a great friend of Claudius, had bequeathed his household to the Emperor, Herodian being a natural name for a slave or freedman of that house.

Significance of the grouping.

But beyond this the "stratification" of the chapter in which the names occur suggests a very democratic church, a loose federation of groups which, though already famous for its faith "throughout the whole world,"[4] needed the touch of a master-builder like St. Paul to organise its structure and develop its potential unity.

[1] Rom. xvi. 14.
[2] Rom. xvi. 15.
[3] Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 172, 173.
[4] Rom. i. 8.

The arrival of St. Paul in Rome, in the early spring of 60 A.D., was the signal for a renewed assault upon the citadel of Judaism. Under the mild administration of Burrus, who was still Prefect of the Praetorians, the prisoner was allowed free intercourse with friends and acquaintances.[1] After being welcomed into the circle of the (largely Gentile) Christian community, some of whom had escorted him over the last forty miles of his journey, the Apostle invited the heads of the Jewish colony to his lodgings. "For the hope of Israel," he had said, "I am bound with this chain." They accepted his invitation in cautious language of non-committal, volunteering, however, the suggestion that the "sect" he represented was known to be "spoken against everywhere." From morning till evening on the day appointed he urged on them the testimony of the Law and the Prophets to the Messiahship of Jesus: but in vain.[2] This second attempt to capture Roman Judaism failed like the first which had raised the tumults of 48–9 A.D. Individual Jews and proselytes were no doubt gathered in from time to time, among whom may have been the Hellenist freedman Clement, who was afterwards to preside over the Church. But the main body of the resident Jews remained hostile; and these probably took their part (as they did later at the martyrdom of Polycarp) in exciting the mob and the authorities to persecution. Theirs was no doubt the "envy and jealousy"[3] to which Clement traces the sufferings of his co-religionists; and it is exceedingly likely that they poisoned the Emperor's mind by means of his mistress Poppaea, who was, as

St. Paul's arrival.

[1] Acts xxviii. 30. [2] Acts xxviii. 17 *sqq.* [3] Clem., *Cor.*, v., vi.

we have said, a Jewess by religion.[1] The two-years' calm of St. Paul's first imprisonment was soon followed by troublous times. Burrus died in 62; and was succeeded by the monster Tigellinus. Then followed the retirement of Seneca, Gallio's illustrious brother: whose influence, direct or indirect, may have been responsible for the Apostle's acquittal at Nero's judgement seat. The prince, of whose government St. Paul had written so optimistically a few years before,[2] and of whom St. Peter was still to write "Honour the King," was now fallen under wholly evil influences; and the Church was to suffer the brunt of the hideous consequences. The "golden age" of just government, represented by the first quinquennium of Nero's reign, (54–8) had not been without a premonition of trouble in store for the Christians. Pomponia Graecina, wife of Aulus Plautius the conqueror of Britain, was in 57 A.D. arraigned before a family tribunal on a charge of "foreign superstition."[3] She was acquitted. A name belonging to her family (Pomponius Graecinus) has been found in the so-called "Crypt of Lucina," the earliest portion of the catacombs of Callistus, dating from the first century of Christianity. The inference (that this *superstitio externa* was the Christian faith) is corroborated by the words used by Tacitus about her demeanour; and it is more than probable that Pomponia and Lucina are the same person. The trial before the domestic court implies that the rumours of hideous immorality perpetrated in the secret meetings

Troublous times.

Pomponia Graecina.

[1] Jos., *Ant.*, XX, viii. 11. [2] Rom. xiii. 1 *sqq.*
[3] Lightfoot, *Clem.*, vol. i., p. 30 *sqq.*; Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 32.

of the Christians, which long prevailed in pagan circles, had already begun to be spread—whether by the malice of the Jews, as Clement's words may imply, or by the natural working of suspicious fears bred of ignorance.

The great fire of Rome (64 A.D.) created a pretext against this suspected body, whose divergence from the *religio licita*, Judaism, was gradually becoming recognised. Nero, roused to a fury of cruel suspicion by the conspiracy against him in 65 A.D., in consequence of which the innocent Seneca was forced to commit suicide—anxious also to divert suspicion from himself, for he had watched the city burning with childish glee—made a scapegoat of this already unpopular sect. We cannot do better than quote the vivid narrative of Tacitus, who (though but a boy of ten or eleven years old at the time) had access to the best sources of information, and represents, no doubt, a point of view prevalent among the cultured pagan Romans of the day.

Neronian persecution.

"To stifle the report," he says—the report, i.e., that he himself had set fire to the city—"Nero put in his own place as culprits and punished with every refinement of cruelty the men whom the common people hated for their secret crimes. They called them Christians. Christ, from whom the name was given, had been put to death in the reign of Tiberius by the procurator Pontius Pilate, and the pestilent superstition checked for a while. Afterwards it began to break out afresh, not only in Judaea, where the mischief first arose, but also at Rome, where all sorts of murder and filthy shame meet together and become fashionable. In the first

Tacitus' account.

place, then, some were seized and made to confess: then, on their information, a vast multitude was convicted not so much of arson as of hatred for the human race. And they were not only put to death, but put to death with insult, in that they were either dressed up in the skins of beasts to perish by the worrying of dogs, or else put on crosses to be set on fire, and when the daylight failed, to be burnt for use as lights by night. Nero had thrown open his gardens for that spectacle and was giving a circus exhibition, mingling with the people in a jockey's dress, or driving a chariot."[1]

Clement's account.

Clement of Rome, Tacitus' elder contemporary, writing twenty years earlier, records the same persecution from a Christian point of view, and speaks of "a vast multitude of the elect, who, through many indignities and tortures, being the victims of jealousy, set a brave example among ourselves. By reason of jealousy, women being persecuted after they had suffered cruel and unholy insults as Danaids and Dirce" (unwilling sharers, it would seem, in Nero's mummery) "safely reached the goal in the race of faith, and received a noble reward."[2] In this persecution Clement places the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul. Whether the two Apostles perished in the same day or in the same year is not known. The mode and the place of their deaths were different. St. Peter, who, according to the beautiful legend, was fleeing from Rome, but turned back by a vision of the Master Who, in reply to his question *Domine, quo vadis?*

Martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul.

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 44 (tr. Gwatkin).
[2] Clem., *Cor.*, v., vi. (tr. Lightfoot).

("Lord, whither goest Thou?"), replied, "To Rome, to be crucified once more," was himself crucified "between the goals of Nero's circus," where the great obelisk in the Piazza of St. Peter's now stands.[1] St. Paul was led through the gate which has for centuries borne his name, along the Ostian Way, past the still standing pyramid of Cestius, and beheaded, as a Roman citizen, at the "Tre Fontane."

These notable martyrdoms, which have added immense prestige to the Roman Church, took place probably at the end of Nero's reign. Ere the Tyrant was removed, a popular reaction seems already to have set in: for Tacitus, after his description of Nero's barbarities, adds in his half-cynical pagan way: "Hence commiseration arose, though it was for men of the worst character and deserving of the severest punishment, on the ground that they were not destroyed for the good of the state, but to satisfy the cruelty of an individual." The milder and juster policy of the earlier Flavians, Vespasian and Titus, seems to have brought peace to the lacerated Church for a score of years or more, years during which we may place the episcopates of Linus and Anencletus[2] (who is certainly to be identified with "Anacletus" and "Cletus"), and the spread of Christianity among the highest families of Rome; and then persecution broke out anew. Domitian's persecution, like Nero's, was primarily an expression of personal ferocity and cruel rancour, rather

Domitian's persecution.

[1] Prof. Lanciani's researches have entirely disposed of the claim of Ferdinand and Isabella's Church of S. Pietro in Montorio, to be the site.

[2] See Lightfoot, *Clem.*, vol. i., pp. 80, 104.

than a logical and systematic attempt at extermination such as that which prevailed under Trajan in Bithynia. The emphasis which Domitian laid upon the worship of himself was bound in any case to lead to a deadly conflict: but the years which are marked by his Christian martyrdoms are years in which his suspicious vindictiveness wreaked itself upon the most diverse victims, humble and noble, and stained his hands with the best blood in Rome. Famous among his victims are M. Acilius Glabrio, consul in 91 A.D., possibly a Christian, and Titus Flavius Clemens, consul with Domitian in 95, who was put to death in the following year, and his wife Domitilla banished. These two were both near relatives of Domitian's—Flavia Domitilla his niece and Clement his first cousin—and their sons had been marked out for imperial succession. The Roman historians speak as vaguely on the charges brought against them—"atheism," "Jewish customs,"[1]—as in the case of Pomponia Graecina—while Glabrio is charged with "innovation."[2] It is practically proved by the evidence of the "Cemetery of Domitilla" that Clement's wife was a Christian, and there is a very strong probability that both Glabrio and Clement were so too.[3] And it is natural that some should have identified Clement the consul and martyr with Clement the Bishop of Rome and writer of the Letter to the Corinthians, regarding the letter as the production of his last days. But the identification finds no support among ancient writers, and is beset with

Illustrious victims.

[1] Dio Cass., *Epitome*, lxvii. 14; Suet., *Dom.*, 15.
[2] Suet., *Dom.*, 10.
[3] Lightfoot, *Clem.*, vol. i., pp. 104-15; vol. ii., pp. 7, 175.

difficulties. Difficult, indeed, must it have been for a professing Christian to hold the consulship—and that as Domitian's colleague. No wonder, that amid all the network of pagan associations by which such a public office was entwined, a believer should have laid himself open to suspicion. But that one who held so conspicuous a place in the pagan world should at the same time have presided over the Church in Rome is wellnigh inconceivable. Moreover, the writer of the epistle is evidently a Hellenist Jew, not a cultured Roman of the circle in which moved Martial, Statius and Juvenal, Tacitus, Quintilian and the younger Pliny.[1] "Clement of Rome" was almost certainly a freedman of the consul's household—a confessor perhaps, but no martyr, who survived his namesake several years, ruling over the Church till the last year of the century. His letter, written, perhaps, just before his patron's death, introduces to us the names of two prominent members of the Church, who in 96 A.D. were already "grown old" in the faith, Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, whom the indirect evidence of inscriptions[2] bids fair to place among the brethren of "Caesar's household" who in 60 A.D. had sent salutations to the Philippian Church. The lowest of the three churches forming the basilica of S. Clemente may probably represent the site of the consul's house, used by the Bishop Clement and his flock during the owner's life-time or shortly after his death;[3] while Domitilla's chapel near the Ardeatine Way, besides attesting her own conversion, preserves for us the names of numerous members of the imperial

Clement the bishop escaped.

[1] Lightfoot, *Clem.*, vol. i., p. 59.
[2] *Ibid.*, 27, 28. [3] *Ibid.*, 94.

Flavian house, who may have been buried there as relatives, but more probably as co-religionists also.[1] Among these is the famous "Darling daughter Aurelia Petronilla" (AUR. PETRONILLÆ FILIÆ DULCISSIMÆ) whom later legend, regardless of etymology, associated not with Petro the founder of the Flavian house, but with the Apostle Simon Peter.

Death of Domitian.

Clement the consul did not die unavenged. One day a man appeared before the Emperor with his left arm bandaged, claiming an audience for an important communication. "I wish to speak to you, Sire, on a matter of great moment. Clement, your great enemy, is not dead as you suppose; he is . . . I know where . . . and is arraying himself against you."[2] With that he took out a dagger concealed in the bandage he was wearing and plunged it into the tyrant's body. A fierce struggle ensued which resulted in the death of both. Domitian's slayer was Stephanus, steward and freedman of Domitilla. Christian or not, he betrays in his mysterious words about his martyred patron acquaintance with the Christian view that martyrs were "still alive" in Him "in Whom all live."

Release of St. John.

The death of Domitian released from exile one more illustrious even than his niece Domitilla. The Apostle St. John, according to Tertullian,[3] had miraculously escaped martyrdom at Rome in Domitian's persecution, having been cast into a cauldron of boiling oil before the Porta Latina. He was then "relegated to an

[1] Lightfoot, *Clem.*, vol. i., 35 *sqq.*
[2] Philostratus, quoted by Lightfoot *ut supra.*
[3] Tert., *Præsc. Hær.*, 36.

island"[1]—the island of Patmos.[2] There, says Irenaeus, he saw his vision in the last years of Domitian's reign, and thence, according to an ancient and very credible tradition,[3] he was released on the accession of Nerva, and passed forth to Ephesus. In the lurid symbolism of his vision, as in the vivid touches which illuminate his letters to the "seven churches," we can read the bitterness of the sufferings which fell upon the Church, especially where the "worship of the Wild Beast" prevailed and the "throne of Satan" was most firmly established—that is, where the cult of "Rome and Augustus" was most highly developed under the influence of the man who, with mind more than half unhinged, loved to style himself "Lord and God." If the scourge lay heavy upon the provinces, as at Pergamus where Antipas suffered,[4] what of the seat of empire? She is Babylon, mother of harlots and of every abomination, "drunken with the blood of the saints and of the martyrs of Jesus":[5] over her the seer pronounced a doom like that pronounced by Ezekiel over Tyre, wherein righteous indignation struggles with the arresting charm of her manifold greatness.[6]

Rome in the Apocalypse.

But the end was not yet. Rome as a pagan city was doomed indeed; and the arch-tyrant's days were numbered. But the struggle between the world and the Church in Rome was not ended, though with Nerva and Trajan it assumed a new aspect. With the

[1] Tert., *loc. cit.*, 36. [2] Rev. i. 9.

[3] Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 18, 20, 23 (who cites Iren. V, xxx. 3, for the Apocalypse at end of Domitian's reign). [4] Rev. ii. 13.

[5] Rev. xvii. 5, 6. [6] Rev. xviii.; Ezek. xxvii. and xxviii.

death of Domitian, Christianity ceased to suffer from the personal atrocities of the head of the State: though the precedents set by Nero and Domitian influenced, no doubt, the attitude of official Rome towards the new faith, in more ways than one, not least in stripping Christianity once for all of the protection afforded at first by prevailing confusion of the new sect with the privileged Jewish religion.[1] Misconception remained of the worst kind, in dark, unfounded calumnies, but on that point there was no longer misconception. The worship of God in Christ, and that of Rome in the emperor, stood face to face in naked antagonism.[2]

Rome and the Apostles.

The Roman Church of the first century is associated with the names of the three greatest Apostles — St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John. St. John simply passes across the scene, St. Peter and St. Paul left their martyr relics to be the Church's most precious treasure.

Founded by unnamed evangelists, how early we cannot say: revived, almost certainly, after the temporary uprooting by Claudius, under the influence of a group of leaders, among whom Prisca and Aquila hold an honoured place, the Church received its final seal of Catholicity by the joint "foundation" of St. Peter and St. Paul. St. Peter's period of activity fell, most probably, after St. Paul's first liberation in 62, and Mark, St. Peter's traditional companion, may have been there as his forerunner, when from Rome he sends salutations to Philemon.[3] When

[1] See below, chap. xii., p. 224.

[2] On Emperor-worship, see further below, chap. xii., p. 225.

[3] Philem. 24.

St. Paul came back from his last journeys and joined the senior Apostle in the Eternal City, he came once more as a prisoner, and was incarcerated with St. Peter in the grim Mamertine prison on the slope of the Capitoline Hill. The trend of tradition makes both Apostles suffer in the last year of Nero's reign: though some would now put St. Peter's martyrdom a dozen years later—a theory which might help to account for the greater impression his name has left on the local Church. The story of their martyrdom has already been told.

Of the progress made by Christianity in the city during the episcopates of Linus, Cletus, and Clement, no detailed statistics remain. It is not till a century and a half after Clement's death that we have a precise list[1] of presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers, and a mention of the fifteen hundred widows and destitutes supported by the Church. But the catacombs bear witness to her swift conquests among Rome's best blood.[2] And, in the light of her subsequent history and of the part she has played in the Christianisation of Europe, we feel that St. Luke was wholly justified in the conclusion he chose for his story. He sets out to sketch the spread of the witness in ever-widening circles from Jerusalem to the uttermost part of the earth.[3] When his hero, St. Paul, had at last attained the goal of his yearnings, and set foot in the city which summarised and symbolised the entire civilised world, the story of the Church's beginnings was com-

[1] Cornelius of Rome. Letter in Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 43 (Harnack, ii. 247).

[2] Lightfoot, *Clem.*, vol. i., p. 29 *sqq.*

[3] Acts i. 8.

plete. Rome now contained within her walls the one man of that age who had grasped in all its fullness the universal message and the Catholic mission of the Church, the unearthly Empire. "The kingdom of the world" was now on the way to "become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ."[1]

[1] Rev. xi. 15.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

THE relations which were to be between the Church and the world will be found already outlined in the acts and utterances of Christ as recorded in the Gospels. "I pray not that Thou shouldest take them out of the world," He had said on the night of His betrayal, "but that Thou shouldest keep them from the evil."[1] Though the word "kingdom" was ever in His mouth, He had declined to head a popular movement designed to place Him on an earthly throne;[2] and before Pilate He had testified, "My kingdom is not of this world."[3]

Relations of Church and world forecast by Christ.

Yet it was clearly His intention to establish a living organised society, a visible church;[4] and such a body must have definite relations of one sort or another with its civil and political environment. Christ's teaching in this matter resolves itself into a modified recognition of existent authority—a recognition modified, that is, by the simultaneous recognition of the paramount claim of God. It is summed up in the memorable phrase, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's."[5]

A visible church founded.

[1] John xvii. 15. [2] John vi. 15. [3] John xviii. 36.
[4] Matt. xvi. 18; cf. xxviii. 19, 20. [5] Matt. xxii. 21.

This acknowledgment of "Caesar's" due applies, in its degree, to the narrower horizon of Jewish authority in Palestine. "The Scribes and Pharisees," He declared, "sit in Moses' seat: all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe . . ."[1] and He Himself had conformed, as we have seen, in various ways, to custom and tradition. He had paid the half-shekel for the Temple, not insisting upon His unique prerogatives.[2]

Claims of civil power recognised.

If we cannot, like mediaeval theologians, interpret His willingness to be tried before a Roman procurator's tribunal as a Divine testimony to the special sacredness of the Roman Empire,[3] we may yet see there the principle of "Render unto Caesar" illuminated by the further declaration that Pilate's authority, such as it was, was given him "from above."[4]

But the two clauses of the memorable distich cover a latent antagonism which has left its mark on the Saviour's forecast of His followers' fortunes upon earth. What if Caesar's claims should outstep the limits of his rights—as they had done often in the past—and encroach upon the claims of God?

Latent antagonism.

It is with this in view that He tells His disciples not to be afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do, but to fear rather the Lord of the soul's eternal destiny;[5] and prepares them to face not only Sanhedrin and synagogue, but also "rulers and kings" for His sake.[6] He warns them that He is come "not to send peace but a sword"—

[1] Matt. xxiii. 2, 3.
[2] Matt. xvii. 24–7.
[3] Dante, *De Monarchia*, ii. 13.
[4] John xix. 11.
[5] Luke xii. 4.
[6] Mark xiii. 9 and parallels.

a sword that shall create social schism and cleave asunder the bonds of closest kinship and affinity.[1]

Christ's mission was revolutionary in a primary sense only on the spiritual side. He refused, as we have seen, to head a movement against the foreign domination, to range Himself with a Theudas or a Judas of Galilee.[2] His attitude was more revolutionary in its relation to contemporary Judaism (to which it yet allowed some shreds of outward authority) —revolutionary not so much in its authoritative revision of the law, "It was said to them of old . . . but I say unto you . . .," as in its change of view-point, its rejection of mere tradition, its unmasking of hypocrisy in high places,[3] its profound grasp of vital principles. More pertinent still is its half-latent universalism, as against the narrowness of current Jewish ideals, revealed in all the redemptive teaching, but most militantly in such parables as that of the Wicked Husbandmen[4] and that of the Wedding Guests,[5] and in such predictions as that of the entrance of "many from the east and the west" and the rejection of "children of the kingdom."[6] More concretely shocking to the social standards of the time was the Saviour's attitude towards the outcasts of Jewish society: the friendly intercourse with "publicans and sinners,"[7] by which the spiritual value of man as man was emphasised by Him Who "came to seek and to save that which was lost."[8]

In what sense is Christ's mission revolutionary?

[1] Matt. x. 34 *sqq.* [2] John vi. 15; cf. Acts v. 36, 37.
[3] Matt. v. 21 *sqq.*, 27 *sqq.*, 33 *sqq.*, 43 *sqq.*
[4] Matt. xxi. 33 *sqq.* [5] Matt. xxii. 1 *sqq.* [6] Matt. viii. 11, 12.
[7] Matt. xi. 19. [8] Luke xix. 10.

But with all the suggested conflict between the Church and the world, the new kingdom was to be fundamentally a purifying, healing, and illuminating influence upon society. The disciples were not to be "taken out of the world,"[1] and their presence there was to react upon the world for good: they were to be its "salt" and its "light."[2]

Church to be "salt" and "light."

The indications which the Gospels supply of Christ's forecast soon begin to be realised in the history of the Church. The antagonism offered to her by the world—apart from the hand-to-hand contest with sin as sin—arises from two main causes. The first of these is the not unfounded suspicion of interference with vested interests and with the fabric of social and domestic life: the second, the exclusiveness of the Church's religious claim, which brought her—though remaining a spiritual kingdom—into conflict with an elaborate and intricate network of religious practices, and ultimately with the Roman attempt to consolidate the Empire by encouraging emperor-worship.

Causes of antagonism.

It was the interference with the material and social fabric of life that brought to a head the latent antagonism between Christianity and the State. This disturbing factor emerges at once, after a fashion, in the first days of the Church at Jerusalem.

Interference with vested interests.

The vested interests first threatened are those of the Sadducees, the ruling high-priestly coterie, who for this very reason had taken so prominent a part in

[1] John xvii. 15.
[2] Matt. v. 13, 14.

the judicial murder of Christ.[1] They felt that their influence was being undermined: all that complex of worldly and material interests represented by the traffickers in the Temple area was in danger of being "cast out."[2] And with the Romans, too, they ran a risk of falling into bad odour, in case of a popular rising in favour of Jesus—they "will come and take away both our place and nation."[3]

In Palestine

It is a like fear of danger to the stability of their position that impels them to the persecution of St. Peter and St. John;[4] and something of the kind also enters into the later jealousy of the more fanatical Jews of pharisaic leanings: St. Paul's persecutors who dog his steps on his missions, and the probable instigators of Nero's and Trajan's and it may be of Domitian's persecutions.[5] It seems clear from the narrative that, apart from any question of religious principle, the Jews of Pisidian Antioch were piqued by the fact that they found themselves crowded out of their own synagogue one Sabbath morning by an irresistible inrush of "those dogs of the Gentiles."

and among Jews of Dispersion

The pagans likewise suffered in their vested interests, and suffered severely as time went on. The religious rites, the idolatrous and lustful practices against which Christianity waged a war without quarter, were inextricably interwoven in the fabric of their family and social life, and had various material interests attached

Vested interests among pagans.

[1] Matt. xxvi. 3 and parallels ("Chief Priests").
[2] Matt. xxi. 12. [3] John xi. 48. [4] Acts iv. 16; v. 28.
[5] See above, ch. xi., p. 203. [6] Acts xiii. 45.

to them. Notable cases of this kind are the sooth-saying at Philippi,[1] the magic arts at Ephesus,[2] and especially the shrine-makers' industry in the latter city, indirect interference with which roused against St. Paul and his companions the hostility of the influential guilds concerned.[3] Outside the New Testament, there is Pliny's witness to the depressed state of the trade in cattle and in fodder, consequent on the neglect of pagan sacrifices, which the progress of Christianity had brought about in Bithynia.[4]

All this was inevitable, due not to any malicious intent on the part of the missionaries of the new faith, but rather to the nature of things. It is balanced, from the side of the Christian leaders, by the strongest exhortations to courtesy, forbearance, and consideration for others,[5] and that even where complicated questions of conscience were involved, as in the case of "meats offered to idols,"[6] and to a general line of conduct of which the conspicuously irreproachable morality might make a favourable impression on heathen society.[7] Special warnings are issued against the defrauding or over-reaching temper: Christianity was to be a religion of fair play.[8]

Apostles for order and peace.

Yet the establishment of the new involves of necessity the passing of the old. The new doctrine was destined in the end to oust a syncretic system of

[1] Acts xvi. 19. [2] Acts xix. 13 *sqq.* [3] Acts xix. 23 *sqq.*
[4] See the passage quoted above, ch. vii., p. 129.
[5] Rom. xii. 14 *sqq.*, xiii. 8 *sqq.*; Phil. iv. 5, 8 *sqq.*; 1 Thess. v. 15, 22; Titus iii. 1 *sqq.*
[6] 1 Cor. viii. 4 *sqq.*
[7] 1 Peter ii. 13, iii. 9 *sqq.*; 1 Thess. iv. 11, 12.
[8] 1 Cor. vi. 8; 1 Thess. iv. 6; Eph. v. 3; Col. iii. 5.

religion, already discredited in the eyes of thoughtful pagans; and paganism in its fall was bound to carry with it a mass of vested interests. It was in this outer material ring that the strain was first felt acutely. The most tolerant worldling will cease to smile indulgently on a movement, as soon as it is found to unsettle the money market or affect his own pocket.

Antagonism inevitable.

Equally inevitable was it that problems should arise in the less material sphere of domestic and social life. Christ came not to send peace but a sword,[1] albeit His parting gift was an inalienable spiritual peace.[2] A man's foes were to be those of his own household.[3]

Domestic and social life disturbed.

The question of the expediency of intimate social intercourse between circumcised and uncircumcised members of the Church, which roused so much bitterness in the years 47–9 A.D.,[4] had its parallel soon afterwards in the problem of the relations between converted and unconverted Gentiles. In a city like Corinth especially, where the official unchastity of pagan religion reached its climax—where to decline any sort of intercourse with fornicators would have meant retiring from human society altogether[5]—this problem assumed a very acute form. St. Paul's correspondence with the Corinthians is largely taken up with questions of such a kind.

Typical was the problem of mixed marriages, or (more strictly) of the line of conduct to be observed by the Christian consort whose partner remained uncon-

[1] Matt. x. 34. [2] John xiv. 27. [3] Matt. x. 36.
[4] See esp. Acts xi. 3; Gal. ii. 11 *sqq.*
[5] 1 Cor. v. 10.

verted.[1] Was it advisable to work for the dissolution of such ties? St. Paul seems to suggest that each case should be treated on its merits, with the underlying hope — no doubt in many cases fulfilled—that the Christian consort (more usually the wife) might ultimately convert the other.[2] But the difficulties meanwhile were many and real. The pagan religion was everywhere in evidence: its rights hallowed (or defiled, according to the point of view adopted) every step in family life: birth, betrothal, marriage, parenthood, death, and every enterprise. The believing husband or wife must slink away to mysterious meetings from which the pagan consort was excluded, meetings whose very secrecy lent colour to dark suspicion:[3] while the other assisted at idolatrous ceremonies which the Christian might not in conscience attend.

Mixed marriages.

Often, we may be sure (though for the earliest period we have to seek for an example in the legend of St. Thekla), engagements were broken off on religious grounds.[4] Celibacy was advocated by St. Paul in certain cases, though not actually enjoined;[5] and the tendency thereto must have begun to develop itself early, though not in the exaggerated form which prevailed some centuries later.

Value set on virginity.

Whole households frequently came over together to

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 12 *sqq.* [2] 1 Cor. vii. 16.

[3] For Tacitus (*Ann.*, xv. 44) Christians are *per flagitia invisos.* Pliny asks whether they are to be punished for the name Christian or for the *flagitia* (secret crimes) attached to the name (*Ep.*, x. 96).

[4] See Ramsay, *Ch. in R. Emp.*, ch. xvi.

[5] 1 Cor. vii. 1, 7, 8. But younger widows are advised to remarry (1 Tim. v. 14 *sqq.*)

the faith:[1] yet there must have been many instances in which, after the insertion of Christ's dividing sword, some members of a once united family found themselves ranged against the rest in a schism like that which the Gospel produced on a larger scale among the citizens of Iconium.[2]

Divided households.

Against these mechanical results of an inevitable conflict of principles, are to be set the repeated protests of St. Peter and St. Paul against the conception of a violently revolutionary Christianity. Christ's doctrine was salt and light.[3] Its ideals were to illumine and to preserve from corruption the organism of family and social life. It was to transfigure man's everyday existence and lift it on to a higher plane, eliminating the unsatisfactory elements, not by a social upheaval or a Servile War, but by a steady evolutionary process.

The specific instructions of St. Paul on the relations of husband and wife, parent and child, master and slave—paralleled closely in the First Epistle of St. Peter—are all directed to this aim:[4] to the purging and uplifting, not the destruction, of the existent social fabric. Marriage (which was then, as in other decadent periods, treated frivolously or with disfavour) is given a new sanction in the divine analogy of Christ and His mystical Bride.[5]

Christian family ideals.

Sanctity of marriage.

[1] Acts x. 44 *sqq.*, xvi. 15, 34; 1 Cor. i. 16.

[2] Acts xiv. 4. [3] Cf. Matt. v. 13, 14.

[4] Eph. v. 22–vi. 9; Col. iii. 18–iv. 1; 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2; cf. 1 Peter ii. 18–iii. 7.

[5] See esp. Eph. v. 22–33.

Patria potestas is rescued from its temptation to absolute tyranny, by the realisation of the Heavenly Fatherhood: slavery accepted for the moment, and made the vehicle of highest teaching for slave and master alike,[1] is left to disappear gradually with the growing consciousness of a universal brotherhood. In Christ all differences, whether of race or of social status, are ideally abolished;[2] and, in practice, Onesimus is restored to his outraged master Philemon as a "beloved brother": though he remains, on his part, a servant ever so much more profitable than before.[3]

Universal brotherhood.

So far-reaching a principle, however, as this of the fraternity of all men under the uniting and levelling sway of Christ—a membership open to all alike in the same living organism—brings us at once into the region where the new faith found itself at issue with Imperial Rome.

For it was just this task of welding together in one the heterogeneous elements—Roman and Greek, "barbarian and Scythian," Gentile and Jew—that the imperial policy set itself to accomplish by means of the cult of Rome and Augustus.

Imperial ideals of unification.

Jealous as is every highly organised despotism (whether it call itself monarchy, empire, or republic) of all smaller associations within its boundaries, Rome protected herself against the danger of an *imperium in imperio* by a very vigilant censorship of societies and clubs. This had begun under the influence of Julius Caesar. Volun-

Jealousy of associations.

[1] Eph. vi. 5–9; 1 Cor. vii. 21 *sqq.*
[2] Col. iii. 11. [3] Philem. 16.

tary associations, called *collegia* or *sodalitates*, were prohibited, the only exception being benefit clubs among the poor—*collegia tenuiorum*, the commonest form of which was that of burial societies. Christian communities could not avoid the appearance of conflict with the laws against associations; and it is more than probable that at one period they found shelter under the shadow of this permission of burial clubs.[1]

Exceptional treatment of Jews.

The Jews, as we have seen, were on a different footing from that of all other subjects of the Empire. As a national religion theirs was tolerated, like the local cults of Gaul, Cyrene, Egypt, and the rest, side by side with the State cult of the emperor. A close link between religion and patriotism was recognised in the Graeco-Roman world; and sojourners of different nations could lawfully carry on their ancestral cult when resident in a foreign land, but were expected, under the Empire, to combine with it the cult of Rome and Augustus, the test of the larger patriotism.[2] The Jews, exclusive in their beliefs as in their customs, refused to take their part in the religion of the Empire: yet their religion was, nevertheless, counted "lawful," though spasmodic action was taken against them from time to time, as by Tiberius and by Claudius.[3] Their privileged position was an heirloom from Alexander's successors, the Seleucid kings of Asia Minor and Syria and the Ptolemies of Egypt, who had shown them remarkable favour.

Christianity, on the other hand, soon became a

[1] See Ramsay, *Ch. in R. Emp.*, p. 359.

[2] See Duchesne, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Eglise*, Tom. I, ch. viii.

[3] See above, ch. xi., p. 194.

religio illicita: as soon, in fact, as it was clearly distinguished from Judaism, it found itself outside the pale of the law.

Christianity only allowed as Jewish sect.

It was as exclusive as Judaism, without the latter's excuse of being a national religion; it shared the Jews' abhorrence of images (which appeared to the average Greek or Roman as equivalent to "atheism"), and had not the mitigating trait of animal sacrifice, which the Jews retained till their Holy Place was taken from them. Only as a Jewish sect could Christianity secure logical toleration: and she had herself flung away the protective cloak of Judaism at the Council of Jerusalem in 49 A.D., when circumcision was formally abolished as a necessary condition of initiation. The distinction was, however, only gradually discerned by the Gentile authorities. By Gallio in 50 A.D. and Festus in 60 A.D., as by Pilate in 29 A.D.[1] the charges raised by the Jews are regarded as mere internal squabbles outside the cognisance of Roman jurisdiction except as leading to a breach of the peace.

It was not till near 70 A.D., when the Christians as a body migrated to Pella, that the split between Jew and Christian became obvious to those who had eyes to see it: among whom (if we may believe Suetonius) was Titus, who regarded them, we are told, as two noxious plants sprung from the same root.[2] Once the distinction had begun to be recognised, Jewish rancour would never fail to emphasise it and to delate members of the hated "sect" as opportunity occurred. But previous

Christians gradually distinguished.

[1] Acts xviii. 12 *sqq.*: Matt. xxvii. 11 *sqq.* and parallels.

[2] Duchesne, *op. cit.* 2nd Edit., p. 107 *sq.*

to 70 A.D. the Jewish attempts to fix a charge of high treason upon the Christians proved invariably ineffectual. This was definitely the case at Thessalonica, as we have seen in 50 A.D. when St. Paul was arraigned on a trumped-up charge similar to that brought against Christ Himself thirty years before.[1] But neither the praetors at Thessalonica, nor Gallio, nor Felix, nor Festus[2]—no, nor Nero himself at his first trial[3]—recognised anything in the new doctrine which savoured of *laesa majestas*.

Henceforth treasonable.

Yet the trouble remained latent; and as soon as the test of offering incense upon the altar of Augustus came to have free play, the technically treasonable character of Christianity became clear, and the name itself rendered its holder liable to the penalties of the law.

This we know to have been the case in Trajan's reign (*c.* 112 A.D.).[4] The exact moment when it emerged we cannot tell. Nero's persecution, where the fantastic punishments recorded by our authorities resemble those inflicted on magicians,[5] is due to a mixture of tyrannical ferocity and popular hatred finding pretext in a charge of arson. Domitian's was also largely a matter of personal caprice, in which eminent persons were condemned for "Jewish superstition," and that when the Jewish religion was still technically a *religio licita*.[6] But as early as the First Epistle of St. Peter (? 64–7 A.D.) there are traces of a proscrip-

[1] Luke xxiii. 2; John xix. 12.

[2] Acts xvii. 5–9; xviii. 12 *sqq.*; xxiv. 22, 23; xxv. 25; xxvi 31.

[3] 2 Tim. iv. 16, 17.

[4] Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 97.

[5] Ramsay, *Ch. in R. Emp.*, p. 236, note; see also above, ch. xi., p. 204.

[6] See above, ch. xi. p. 206.

tion of Christians as such;[1] and this became stereotyped, as Christianity made headway among all classes, earning hatred and suspicion as a "Third Race" one degree further removed from the ideals of Graeco-Roman civilisation than were the already despised though tolerated Jews.[2]

Yet preach loyalty.

The tragedy of this situation lies in the fact that the Christians clearly wished to be good citizens, and were fitted, in fact, to be the salt of the earth—the only principle (as events proved three centuries later) capable of regenerating or rejuvenating the Empire. "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" is writ large in the acts and words of St. Peter and St. Paul alike.

St. Peter.

In the narrower circle of the Jewish polity, St. Peter comes out first indeed with the complementary phrase "Unto God the things that are God's." "We must obey God rather than men,"[3] is his reply to a brow-beating Sanhedrin. Yet his slow acceptance of the temporary nature of the ceremonial law is a strong testimony to the conservative and law-abiding tendency of his mind; and his first Epistle, in the wider horizon of Roman politics, echoes most emphatically St. Paul's injunctions to the Roman Christians to submit cheerfully to "the powers that be" as "ordained of God."[4] He sees, indeed, that exemplary moral and social conduct is not likely to secure immunity either from slander or from persecution: but he urges it for its own sake on the highest religious grounds.[5]

And if St. Peter cries "Honour the king!" when the

[1] 1 Peter iv. 16. [2] Harnack, i. 266 *sqq*. [3] Acts v. 29; cf. iv. 9.
[4] 1 Peter ii. 13–17. [5] 1 Peter ii. 11, 12, 15, 20.

king is Nero in his decadent days, St. Paul, who had said the like in that Emperor's earlier years when the salutary influence of Seneca and Burrus prevailed,[1] returns to the same theme with equal earnestness in his later writings, proclaiming the primary duty of intercession "for kings and those in authority."[2] He had always been ready to face, with fearless dignity, the representatives of justice before whose tribunals he was too often haled; and though it is only gradually and with hesitation that he comes to use the talisman of his Roman citizenship,[3] he evidently takes pride in it, and in the end employs it in the service of his mission. *Appello ad Caesarem* was the spell that wafted him to Rome.[4]

St. Paul.

St. Paul might be a Roman and a patriotic Roman, one proud of his citizenship and quick to see in it an image of that heavenly citizenship[5] for the spread of which the imperial organisation offered such wonderful facilities. But if he had been confronted with the alternative of emperor-worship or death—as, possibly indeed, he was at his second trial—we know what his choice would have been: "I am now ready to be offered."[6] It was this particular State regulation that formed the real *casus belli*.

Inevitable alternative.

Oriental in spirit—one of the many heirlooms handed down to Rome from the kingdoms she had absorbed—the emperor-worship had been formally adopted by her as an instrument of unification. Originally—and here it was more or less in line with the Roman ancestral cult of *lares* and *genii*—it meant

[1] Rom. xiii. 1–7.
[2] 1 Tim ii. 1–3; Titus iii 1.
[3] Acts xvi. 37–9; xxii. 25.
[4] Acts xxv. 8–11.
[5] Phil. iii. 20.
[6] 2 Tim. iv. 6 (A.V.)

the worship of dead Caesars as representatives of the majesty of Rome and all that Rome stood for. Its seat was in Rome: but provincials, grateful for peace and good government, took up the cult with fervour, and it became the most vital element of the State religion. Following the precedent of the Egyptian Ptolemies, Caligula, and afterwards Domitian, encouraged the worship of the *living*, and the images of the actual ruler were set up for adoration as well as those of his predecessors. "The rejection of either cult," says Harnack,[1] "was a crime which came under the head of sacrilege as well as of high treason; and it was here that the repressive measures taken by the State against Christianity almost invariably started," after the distinction of the Christians from the specially exempted Jews became effectively realised.

Worship of the Beast.

This, in the form it assumed in Domitian's reign, is the "Worship of the Beast" which figures so luridly in the Apocalypse. The Wild Beast[2] with seven heads that sits upon seven hills,[3] the Rome which is the centre of this idolatrous worship, is the harlot Babylon "drunk with the blood of the saints."[4]

Triumph of the saints.

War to the death is decreed between the saints of God and the Wild Beast and his allies . . . but the part to be played by the saints is that of "enduring to the end."[5] Through great tribulation[6] they pass to victory through death, till finally the kingdom of this world shall become the kingdom of our God and of His Christ.[7]

[1] Harnack, i. 295–7.
[2] Rev. xiii. 1 *sqq.*
[3] Rev. xvii. 7 *sqq.*
[4] Rev. xvi. 6.
[5] Rev. vi. 9–11; cf. xx. 4.
[6] Rev. vii. 14.
[7] Rev. xi. 15; cf. xvii. 14 and xix. 16.

CHAPTER XIII

CHURCH ORGANISATION: THE MINISTRY

THE central and fundamental fact of the Church's inner life was that gift of the Holy Spirit, in virtue of which she was to remain for ever a Pentecostal Church: the "Spirit-bearing Body" of Christ. The inner nucleus of the Church—practically, if not precisely, identical with the Apostolic band—had received a far-reaching promise of this gift on the night of the Lord's betrayal, and a foretaste of the gift itself on the first Easter night, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."[1] Six weeks later He came with striking outward manifestations: the "Power from on high," for which the disciples waited, descended upon them,[2] and the life of the Christian Church was really begun.

Gift of the Spirit—central fact.

It is from this spiritual Presence, by which the Church is kept in continual contact with the life of her ascended Lord, that flow out all those multitudinous activities, those diversified gifts,[3] and that gradually crystallised organisation which mark the Church of the New Testament.

The phenomena of Pentecost were repeated once

[1] John xx. 22, 23. [2] Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 8.
[3] 1 Cor. xii.

again on a smaller scale when St. Peter drew into the Church its first Gentile recruits: a fact which is noted in the narrative as having struck St. Peter at the time.[1] Something of the kind is implied also in the account of the sending forth of Barnabas and Saul by the Antiochene Church on their first Gentile mission. The Holy Ghost, at any rate, made His presence known, if not by visible signs, yet by clear and precise guidance in answer to prayer: a type of that continual guidance promised by the Lord before His passion.[2] More externally similar to the phenomena of Pentecost, though clearly not the same, are those gifts of ecstatic utterance which the Corinthian Church exhibited some years later. But these fleeting or rarely recurrent manifestations, similar to the phenomena of a "revival," would seem to be less truly representative of the Church's divine endowment than are the normal ways in which her energies find expression—in the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and the "edification," that is, the "building up," of the Body.

Phenomena repeated.

Charismata at Corinth.

Normal spiritual endowment.

We find this fund of spiritual power communicated to individual souls when, after repentance and confession, believing on the Lord Jesus, they were baptized with His baptism.[3] This is the teaching of the Day of Pentecost, when the ministry of baptism was as yet confined to the Apostles. Soon, however, after the ordination of the Seven, bearing with it the delegation of certain of

Conditions of reception.

[1] Acts x. 44–8; xi. 15. [2] John xiv., xv., xvi.
[3] Acts ii. 38 *sqq*.

their functions, it becomes clear that for the plenary endowment the direct touch of Apostolic hands is necessary. St. Philip the Evangelist converts and baptizes: his work is supplemented by the laying-on of the hands of St. Peter and St. John.[1] Thus from the archetype of the rite of confirmation emerges a principle clearly marked elsewhere in the *Acts* and Pauline *Epistles*: the principle of Apostolic primacy.

Transmitted by Apostles.

As the central fact of the Church's life is the Pentecostal gift, so the central authority is the Apostolic body, through which that gift is normally transmitted. There is a certain ambiguity about the word "apostle" as used in the New Testament, to which we shall have occasion to refer later on; but the centring of authority in the College of Twelve is indisputable as regards the earliest days. Nor is it without significance that, in the latest book of the New Testament, the names of "the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb" are inscribed upon the foundations of the City of God.[2] To begin with, the care taken immediately after the Ascension to fill the place of Judas by one duly qualified and divinely chosen, and so to complete the original number,[3] is itself very significant. A twelfth witness of the Saviour's ministry, passion, resurrection, and ascension is appointed betimes; and receives, with the Eleven, the fiery baptism of the Spirit. The Twelve thus "clothed with power" begin at once, by St. Peter's mouth, to proclaim the risen Lord. They receive by baptism the three thousand converts. Adherence to their teaching

Primacy of Apostles.

College of Twelve.

The Twelve at Jerusalem.

[1] Acts viii. 12–17. [2] Rev. xxi. 14. [3] Acts i. 15 *sqq.*

and fellowship is one of the principal marks of the primitive Church, while their own authority is accredited by a constant display of miraculous "signs."[1] Witnessing before the people by these extraordinary works of power, they testify also with unflinching courage before the hostile Sadducees.[2] To them the faithful bring their contributions to the common fund; and, when a more elaborate machinery of distribution and administration becomes necessary, it is they who take the initiative in proposing a delegation of their own functions, who summon the laity to elect candidates and ordain with prayer and laying on of hands the men selected.[3] Their responsibilities keep them in Jerusalem when the rest are scattered by persecution;[4] and there they form a sort of central executive committee, receive the report of the first missionary circuit of Paul and Barnabas, and, in council with the "presbyters," resolve the resultant problems and issue an authoritative encyclical to the Churches in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia.[5] This last occasion represents, it would appear, a moment of transition, when the Twelve are about to disperse: henceforth the local Jerusalem authority[6] is vested in James "the Lord's Brother"—already prominent as presiding at the Council—and the presbyters who had been associated with the Apostles in the same.

As soon as the *Acts* (henceforth absorbed in the work of St. Paul) ceases to give us information about the Twelve, the Pauline *Epistles* take up the story, expressing in more theoretic fashion the Apostolic

[1] Acts ii. 43; iv. 33; v. 12 *sqq.*
[2] Acts iv. 1–22; v. 27 *sqq.*
[3] Acts vi. 1–6.
[4] Acts viii. 1.
[5] Acts xv.
[6] Cf. Acts xxi. 18.

claims which St. Luke exhibits to us in the concrete. St. Paul claims to possess a direct Apostolic commission from the Lord Himself, independent of the Twelve,[1] an equality with the very chiefest of them accredited by signs and wonders;[2] and in asserting the prerogatives of his own apostleship describes, of necessity, theirs also. He claims to rule and command (constitutionally) the converts in the churches he has founded,[3] and to regulate their worship.[4] His authority extends to solemn excommunication[5] and equally solemn absolution "in the person of Christ," and that transmissible even by letter.[6] Finally, the transmission of the grace of orders and of the power of ordination is claimed for the Apostolic office. As he and Barnabas had in 50 A.D. ordained presbyters in every church in Galatia,[7] so ten years later he authorises Titus to do the same in Crete,[8] and Timothy at Ephesus.[9]

Apostleship described by St. Paul.

We should be tempted, perhaps, to regard St. Paul's apostleship as absolutely unique were it not that there are strong indications given by him, and by St. Luke in the *Acts*, which favour the association of Barnabas and James "the Lord's Brother" with him and the original Twelve. St. James's position seems never to have been questioned. The Lord had vouchsafed to him a special appearance on the day of the resurrection;[10]

Parallels to Paul's apostleship.

[1] Gal. i. 1 *sqq.* [2] 1 Cor. xii. 11, 12.
[3] 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2; cf. 1 Cor. viii. 8.
[4] 1 Cor. *passim*; esp. xi. 34 and xiv. 26–30.
[5] 1 Cor. v. 3–6. [6] 2 Cor. ii. 7–10. [7] Acts xiv. 23.
[8] Titus i. 5. [9] 1 Tim. iii. [10] 1 Cor. xv. 7.

and thenceforth he is, both for the *Acts* and for the *Epistles*, "James" *par excellence:* while the son of Zebedee is distinguished as "the brother of John."[1] He presides over the Jerusalem community, not only after the final dispersion of the Twelve,[2] but earlier, even in the presence of St. Peter,[3] and is by St. Paul definitely entitled "apostle" in the same sense in which the name is applied to St. Peter;[4] and his name takes precedence of those of Peter and John with whom he is associated as a reputed "pillar" of the Church.[5] The tone of his Epistle is authoritative as well as persuasive: but his Apostolic office, not having been called in question, is not even mentioned, much less vindicated and defined.

James.

If there remained to us a genuine Epistle of St. Barnabas we should probably be enlightened further on the subject of an Apostle's claims and prerogatives. He, like his companion St. Paul, is first called apostle incidentally in the narrative of their visit to Iconium. If this were our only evidence, we might have attributed the title to his "sending forth" on this special mission from Antioch, and have classed him with apostles in the vaguer sense, with the wandering evangelists of the *Didaché*[6] or the special messengers of the Gospel or of churches in certain New Testament passages[7] (among whom also may possibly be placed the Andronicus and Junias of the Epistle to the *Romans*).[8] But Barnabas is prominent so early in the history, and appears first

Barnabas.

[1] Acts xii. 2. [2] Acts xxi. 18. [3] Acts xv.
[4] Gal. i. 19. [5] Gal. ii. 9. [6] *Didaché*, xi.
[7] 2 Cor. viii. 23; Phil. ii. 25. [8] Rom. xvi. 7.

in an incidental way which suggests that he had long been a disciple, and thus possessed the qualification of having "seen the Lord":[1] while the phrase used at his sending forth from Antioch implies that it was in his case, as in St. Paul's, an outward commission following upon a previous unquestionable Divine choice. It will be observed in this connexion, that St. Paul never bases his Apostolic status on this Antiochene commission, but on a direct commission from the Lord Himself. The clearest declaration of all on the subject is that of St. Paul, who definitely associates his companion with himself in the claim to a genuine Apostolic parallel to that of the Twelve.[2]

Leaving aside for the moment the more informal list of ministries and functions in the Church[3]—in which, however, it will be observed that St. Paul puts "Apostles" in each case at the head of the series—we have to consider the *local* officials in the Christian communities. For the Apostolate, as represented, e.g., by St. Peter and St. Paul, is a non-local ministry with a jurisdiction not limited by purely geographical considerations, except in the sense of a voluntary partition of the mission field, such as tradition attributes to the Twelve at their dispersion. Of an analogous arrangement between St. Paul and the elder Apostles[4]—a partition into Jewish and Gentile missions—St. Paul himself informs us. Yet the compact was not so strict or final in its bearing but that the "Apostle of the Gentiles" approaches the synagogue first, by habit, in his subsequent missions both in Asia and in Europe; while

Apostolate non-local.

[1] Cf. Acts i. 21 *sqq.*; 1 Cor. ix. 1.
[2] 1 Cor. ix. 6.
[3] 1 Cor. xii. 28; Eph. iv. 11 *sqq.*
[4] Gal. ii. 8, 9.

St. Peter has stamped his seal upon the capital city of the Gentile world. The "Prophets" mentioned in the *Acts* and *Epistles* appear to have been similarly non-local in character. In fact, the first mention we have of a local ministry—apart from the appointment of the Seven, who, if represented by St. Philip, soon developed itinerant tendencies—is the incidental mention of "Elders" (Presbyters) as local officials at Jerusalem during the famine in 46 A.D.[1] The same officers appear in subsequent references to the Jerusalem Church. They are associated with the Apostles in the Council of 49 A.D.; and appear as St. James's assessors on the occasion of St. Paul's last visit to the city in 57 A.D. When he and Barnabas were organising the churches of the Lycaonian district in 48–9 A.D., we read that they appointed Presbyters in every church,[3] accompanying the ordination with the usual adjuncts of "prayer and fasting," and, doubtless, with the laying on of hands.[3] We are not told in so many words of the ordination of Presbyters in other churches, but we may certainly take it for granted. In the spring of 57 A.D. St. Paul delivers his farewell discourse to the Presbyters of Ephesus, whom, in the course of his address, he entitles "overseers" or "bishops" (*episcopoi*).[4] These two titles, Bishop and Presbyter, are used, it would appear, as synonymous in the Pastoral Epistles some seven years later, where the "presbyterate" in Crete is obviously

Local ministry: the Elders or Presbyters.

[1] Acts xi. 30. [2] Acts xiv. 23.

[3] Cf. Acts xiii. 3, vi. 6, and 1 Tim. iv. 14 (prayer and laying on of hands); Acts i. 24 (prayer).

[4] Acts xx. 17, 28.

equivalent in functions and in status to the "episcopate" at Ephesus.[1]

"Presbyter" and "Bishop" synonymous in N.T.

The actual identity of episcopate and presbyterate in the first century has been disputed; and is no doubt open to discussion: but that the words are, for whatever reason, practically synonymous can scarcely be doubted. It may be that the Presbyters were originally concerned with organisation and discipline, and the "Bishops" and Deacons with the conduct of worship and administration and finance. But the evidence of the *Pastoral Epistles* is all to the effect that the same functions of government, pastoral care and teaching belonged equally to those who are here called Presbyters and there Bishops; and the evidence of St. Paul's *Epistle to the Philippians*, and St. Clement's, written at the end of the century, to the Corinthians, tells in the same direction.[2] If these writers had known of an order of Presbyters *distinct* from the "episcopate," we can hardly suppose that they would have mentioned only "Bishops and Deacons." The problem is, however, further complicated by the fact that St. Ignatius, writing some fifteen years after Clement, uses the word "Bishop" in a different sense:[3] in the sense, in fact, which has adhered to the word ever since. For him, as for Irenaeus and all later patristic writers, the Bishop is a monarchical ruler, having under him Presbyters and Deacons.

"Bishops" distinct for Ignatius.

This threefold ministry is indeed already so far

[1] Cf. 1 Tim. iii. (Elders) with Titus i. 5 *sqq.* (Elders, Bishops).

[2] Phil. i. 1; Clem., *Cor.*, xlii.

[3] e.g. Ign., *Eph.*, i., ii.; *Magn.*, vii.; *Trall.*, ii., iii., etc.

established in St. Clement's time that (notwithstanding his apparent identification of episcopate and presbyterate) he implies an analogy between the Church's hierarchy and that of the Levitical orders of High Priest, Priest, and Levite.[1] If we are to seek for the precise analogue of the High Priest, we shall find that Clement's language, though a little ambiguous, gives colour to the theory which was generally accepted by succeeding generations, that the Apostles took care to appoint their own successors, and to provide, in them, a continuity of Apostolic authority in the stricter sense of apostleship—the spiritual leadership, general control of doctrine and discipline, and power to transmit the grace of Holy Orders, which we find St. Paul exercising himself and delegating to Timothy and Titus.

Threefold ministry.

This is the Episcopate as conceived by St. Ignatius: the divinely appointed corner-stone of the Church's fabric, its sole guarantee of a continuity of Apostolic doctrine and authority. And we must not forget that, in the interval between St. Clement's letter and those of St. Ignatius, a tradition well worthy of credit places the active organisation of the episcopate in the province of Asia by the aged Apostle St. John.[2]

The traditions which ascribe to this and that Apostle the consecration of the first diocesan bishop of Antioch, of Ephesus, of Corinth, of Rome, depend for their value in each case on the strength of the local evidence. The names have often the appearance of being inferences from incidental notices in the New Testament—

[1] Clem., *Cor.*, xl.

[2] See above, ch. viii., p. 150, and Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 23.

yet even so, they might be lucky guesses. The systematised development of the episcopate (in the later sense of the word) may well have been antedated by subsequent writers, who would naturally throw back the environment of Church organisation in which they themselves were living. The bold and logical theory of Theodore of Mopsuestia may be no more than a theory;[1] yet, in default of positive evidence as to the details of a process of which we know for certain only the extremes, it is worthy of mention. In commenting on 1 Timothy iii. he asserts the identity in Apostolic times of the presbyterate and the episcopate. These presbyter-bishops, he says, had charge of individual churches, while Timothy and Titus stood to them in the relation of the later bishop to his priests, having jurisdiction over an entire province. In them we see the type of the Apostles' successors, though the name "Apostle" was dropped out of modesty by men, who, though inheriting the permanently essential prerogatives of the Apostolate, lacked the power of "signs and wonders," and recognised themselves in other ways inferior to the original Apostles of the Lord. These retained the larger Apostolic jurisdiction—generally a province or half a province—but assumed the appropriate name of "Bishops" (= overseers), leaving the title "Presbyter" to the local rulers of the churches.[2]

Origin of episcopate: Theod. of Mopsuest.

Such, in substance, is the theory—if it be not tradition—put forward by Theodore in the fourth century; and it harmonises remarkably with such evidence as we have to draw upon. That it localises (though

[1] See Harnack, i. 445 *sqq.*

[2] Theod. of Mops. on 1 Tim. iii., ap. Harnack, *loc. cit.*

within a wide area) the Apostolic jurisdiction, presents no insuperable difficulty. St. Paul, we know, "thought in provinces"; and, as his evangelistic work progresses, we find his convert-cities grouping themselves on a provincial basis. His work in "Asia," from Ephesus as a centre, is recorded in the *Acts*, and, in his own Epistles, he speaks of the Galatian, Macedonian, and Achaian churches as of groups that are practically units. An Apostle whose activity stretched out from Syria to Spain is more than a diocesan bishop: within limits, the world is his province. But his method of organisation may well have laid the foundations of a diocesan system following, in most cases, the lines of the Roman provinces. Nor does the silence which veils the labours of the majority of the Twelve, justify us in concluding that the final and settled stage of St. John's activity in Asia, and St. Peter's at Rome, had no parallel in the cases of their colleagues.

Dioceses and Roman provinces.

The Episcopate of the second century may be said, then, to differ from the Apostolate of the first chiefly in its localised character: an inevitable result of the new conditions, as the itinerantly missionary aspect of the work became less prominent and the Church struck its roots in the soil. And whether, as some hold, it represents an upward development from the local college of presbyters (which must then, at first, have had the power to transmit Apostolic orders), or, as the evidence seems rather to suggest, a delegation from the Apostles themselves, its prerogatives spring, in either case, ultimately from the Apostolate, the nucleus of the Church's ministry.

Second-century Episcopate and first-century Apostolate.

Associated with the Presbyter-bishops in the *Pastoral Epistles* is another and inferior order of ministers, the Deacons, occupying, it may be, a relation to the Presbyters similar to that of Mark to Barnabas and Saul in the first missionary tour, and of Timothy and Erastus to St. Paul in his residence at Ephesus; and an earlier hint of such a ministerial order is seen by some in the "young men" who bury Ananias and Sapphira, though the word used in two of these cases is not the same.[1] The occurrence of the word (*διακονία, διακονεῖν*) in the narrative of the appointment of the Seven[2] lends colour to the theory that we have there the origin of the diaconate, though the title "deacon" is never actually applied in the *Acts* to St. Stephen or any of his colleagues. Hence some would see in the Seven—whose ordination certainly represents an important step in the devolution of functions—the origin of the Christian presbyterate, which is first mentioned by its formal title so abruptly on the occasion of the famine. Certainly we find both St. Stephen and St. Philip assuming a far more prominent position than that which would be appropriate to one of St. Timothy's deacons at Ephesus; and the qualifications demanded for the Seven are seemingly higher than those laid down in 63 A.D. Yet the almoner's work among the poor, for which the Seven were ostensibly appointed, is a characteristic function of the diaconate in the early Church. On the

Diaconate in Pastoral Epistles.

The Seven.

Formative stage of organisation.

[1] Acts v. 6, 10, *νεώτεροι, νεανίσκοι*; Acts xiii. 5, *ὑπηρέτης*; Acts xix. 22, *διακονεῖν*.

[2] Acts vi. 1, 2.

whole we must leave the question open, not excluding the possibility that the appointment of the Seven marks a transition stage, and that from this nucleus the two orders of presbyters and deacons were both subsequently developed.

The Christian ministry is a "new creation," a product of the Church's Pentecostal life. To St. Paul it represents the specialisation of function in the organs of a living body: the eyes, the hand, the mouth of the Church, wherein is treasured the Divine Life with all its potencies. Names, titles, functions, jurisdictions, are all at first in the formative stage, and, as it were, in solution: the eventual development was doubtless retarded by the general belief in the nearness of the Second Advent, which gave all the Church's earlier movements a note of tentativeness. But the fruitful germ was already created when the Lord gave His great commission to the Eleven on the first Easter night.[1]

Relations with Judaism and paganism.

This essentially new creation, however, stretches out its hands on one side to its forbear, the Jewish Church, and on the other to its pagan cousin, the Roman Empire. "Elder" is a word of honourable and dignified import in all civilisations; and, as functions of counsel and leadership, entrusted originally to the "elders" in the literal sense, always tended to attach themselves to character and capacity rather than to mere years, the word assumed everywhere a non-literal and technical meaning. This was so in the Jewish polity. And doubtless the title, at least, of the Church's presbyters or elders was derived from

[1] John xx. 21–3.

those elders of the Jewish community who exercised disciplinary functions in each place, usually in connexion with the synagogue.

It is to the council of these elders that our Lord is probably referring in one of the two passages in which He is recorded to have used the word "Church";[1] and the context suggests an analogous if not a continuous organisation, as outlined for the citizens of the New Kingdom. The synagogue (where there was one) formed, as we know, the normal starting-point in each place for the preaching of the Gospel; and its order of worship supplied something of a model, as we shall see, for the primitive Christian services: it is tempting to find also in the synagogue the prototype of the Church's threefold ministry. Every local Jewish community seems to have had its president or synagogue-ruler (Archisynagogos),[2] its body of elders (Presbyteroi), and its minister or attendant (Chazan).[3] Whatever may be said about the first and last classes, we may regard it as certain that the name at least of the Christian presbyterate was borrowed or inherited from the Jewish system: nor is it unlikely that the first Christian "elders" at Jerusalem may have been elders before their conversion in the Jewish community.

Jewish elders: the synagogue.

But if the Church's ministry is linked on the one side to that of the Old Covenant, it is more than probable that some features of her organisation were adopted from—or at any rate suggested by—the provincial institutions of the Empire.

Pagan organisation.

[1] Matt. xviii. 17.

[2] Mark v. 22 *sqq.*; Luke viii. 49, xiii. 14; Acts xiii. 15, xviii. 8, 17.

[3] Luke iv. 20, ὑπηρέτης.

We have seen how St. Paul groups churches according to provinces, while Theodore of Mopsuestia (more than three centuries later) sees strong traces of an arrangement of bishopries according to provincial areas still surviving—asserting that "till recently there were but two, or at most three, bishops in most of the western provinces."[1] The Church is thought to have found a model for certain aspects of her diocesan organisation in that of her arch-enemy the *Commune*, as it was called, by which the worship of Rome and Augustus was maintained and propagated throughout each province.[2] This is the less surprising when we remember that as early as 56 A.D. St. Paul at Ephesus was befriended and protected by the Asiarchs,[3] the heads of the *Commune Asiae*, i.e. the Organisation of the Imperial Cult for the Province of Asia.

Ministerial qualifications.

As to the distinctive characteristics, qualifications, and duties of the ministerial orders in the New Testament period, there is little more to be said. Their duties are nowhere precisely defined, though much (as we have seen) can be gathered from the *Acts* and the Pauline *Epistles* as to those of an Apostle, and not a little as to those of presbyter-bishops and of deacons from the *Pastoral Epistles*.

Work of an Apostle.

The work of an Apostle or his deputy—a Timothy or a Titus—was, to judge from St. Paul's Epistles, comprehensive and responsible to a degree, demanding qualities of statesmanship and high diplomacy, a clear head, and a large heart. From the problems of the outer fringe—rela-

[1] See Harnack, i. 447. [2] Harnack, ii. 183, note. [3] Acts xix. 31.

tions to the imperial and the local government and to the surrounding heathen society, to the inner questions demanding a study of the characteristics, tendencies, and temptations of each particular Christian community: the enforcement of discipline and the decision of the minutest details of conduct and of worship—all this range of responsibilities weighed, in the initial stages at least, on the shoulders of one who bore the daily burden of "the care of all the churches."

Furthermore, he was the repository of the sacred tradition, the "deposit" of the Faith, in days when no canonical Gospels were as yet in circulation; and in him resided the authority for transmitting the grace and character of Holy Orders, and the ultimate responsibility (with or without a preliminary popular election is not clear) of selecting the candidates whom he solemnly ordained with laying on of hands. The ordination of the original Apostles was a thing *sui generis*, a direct commission from the Lord. In Timothy's case there seems to have been a laying on of hands by the presbyterate, in addition to that by St. Paul himself, and accompanying prophesyings.[1]

Qualifications of Presbyter-Bishop.

Next in rank, as in responsibility, comes the office of Presbyter or Bishop, a pastoral office requiring watchful care and just governance, with a dignified status commanding respect alike from superiors and inferiors, but not without its temptation to a domineering and tyrannical spirit, necessitating high moral and spiritual qualifications in its holder.[2] His personal and private

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 14; cf. Acts xiii. 1.

[2] Acts xx. 28 *sqq.*; 1 Thess. v. 12–14; 1 Tim. v. 1–17; cf. Heb. xiii. 7; 1 Peter v. 3.

life must be blameless, and the discipline of his family[1] an example to the flock and a proof of his own capacity for ruling.[2] The demands that he shall be well thought of by "those without," and that he shall be "given to hospitality," show that he also had some responsibility for the external relations of his community: while the requirement of a gift for teaching, and a right grasp of sound doctrine, for the double purposes of edification and apologetic, marks him as, in his own degree, a repository of the "tradition,"[3] and distinguishes him from the deacon, to whom no teaching commission is given. The warnings against avarice, though not so strongly worded, in the First Epistle to *Timothy*, as those for the diaconate, bespeak a responsibility for Church finance.[4]

Duties of Deacons.

Of the Deacon's duties still less is said: though something may be inferred from the list of qualifications; and the evidence is in favour of the supposition that their work was principally, then as at a later date, that of almoners among the poor, the work, in fact, for which the Seven were originally appointed.[5] This house-to-house visiting brought with it temptations not only to "greed of filthy lucre," but to scandal-mongering[6] and such-like failings, besides the frailties incident to opening manhood. The horizon of the Deacon's qualifications and of his responsibilities is thus much more restricted than that of the Presbyter.

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 2; Titus i. 6.
[2] 1 Tim. iii. 4, 5; cf. 1 Peter v. 3.
[3] 1 Tim. iii. 2, 7; Titus i. 8, 9.
[4] 1 Tim. iii. 3; cf. Titus i. 7; 1 Peter v. 2.
[5] Acts vi. 1. [6] 1 Tim. iii. 8.

In the midst of St. Paul's passage about qualifications for the diaconate comes a verse about "Women,"[1] not referring, apparently, to the deacons' wives who are mentioned in the following verse; and the not unnatural inference has been drawn that we have here a reference to that order of "Deaconesses" which was certainly in existence in Bithynia less than fifty years afterwards, represented by the *ministrae* whom Pliny tortured unsuccessfully with a view to obtain definite evidence of "secret crimes."[2] St. Paul's view of the position of women in the Church—that is, in the Church assemblies—his strict enforcement of an attitude of modesty and subjection,[3] would seem to at first militate against the possibility of his recognising any official order of women. But, when we bear in mind the special circumstances of Corinth to which the injunctions in question were addressed, and the prominent part taken by women in St. Paul's evangelistic work, the case assumes a different complexion. Lydia, the Apostle's first convert in Europe, and Prisca his hostess and that of the Church—more eminent even than her husband Aquila—are among the leading characters in the story of the Church, even as the faithful band of holy women grouped round the Blessed Virgin hold a high place in the Gospel story. Some of these were almost certainly among the recipients of the "tongues of flame" at Pentecost,[4] a sign of the truth enunciated by St. Paul

Ministry of women.

Deaconesses.

Prominence of women in N.T.

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 11. [2] Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 96.
[3] 1 Cor. xi. 3 *sqq.*; xiv. 34 *sqq.*; cf. 1 Peter iii. 1.
[4] Acts i. 8.

himself that in Christ the male sex has no position of exclusive privilege—"there is neither male nor female."[1]

But the most conclusive evidence for an order of deaconesses is perhaps that of the Epistle to the *Romans*, which introduces us (in 56–7 A.D.) to a "deaconess of the church of Cenchreae" in the person of Phoebe, who is not only an active worker in her own church, but appears to have been sent on some official mission to that at Rome.[2] Phoebe is described as a "succourer of many," which puts her work in line with that of the diaconate as sketched above, and harmonises with the implications of the Apostolic qualifications that such must be "grave, not slanderers, temperate in all things":[3] requirements of modesty, discretion, reticence, and uprightness, such as a woman would specially need in charitable work among the poor sisters in heathen surroundings. We shall not be rash, then, in picturing the primitive deaconesses as assisting the deacons in their work as the Church's almoners.

Phoebe.

Qualifications of deaconess.

But later on in the same Epistle "widows" are treated as a separate and quasi-official class.[4] There is abundant evidence that the Church—following the synagogue in this also—from the first took special measures for the care and support of widows. They first appear prominently in the Church at Jerusalem, when the exigences of their support demanded a specialisation of the Apostolic ministry: it is for their sake primarily that the Seven

Widows.

[1] Gal. iii. 28. [2] Rom. xvi. 1, 2.
[3] 1 Tim. iii. 11. [4] 1 Tim. iii. 3–16.

are ordained.[1] When St. Paul writes his instructions to Timothy more than thirty years later, he witnesses to a systematic classification of widows at Ephesus, and to the need of precautions lest surviving relatives should thrust upon the Church funds the burden of supporting widows whom they themselves can afford to keep.[2] But the fact that these instructions about widows are inserted into a passage about elders suggests that the widows, of whom a list was kept,[3] were a sort of order by themselves, expected to offer a *quid pro quo* of service. In considering the antecedents of a candidate, Timothy is to look for the record not only of a blameless married life, but of hospitality to strangers, humble ministrations to the saints, relief of the afflicted, and diligent following of good works. No one under sixty years of age was to be accepted.[4]

The mutual relations of the orders of deaconesses and widows are not defined. It is possible that the latter were an inferior order, from which the deaconesses were selected. But it must be admitted that the age-limit is against the theory.

A sketch of the church organisation of the Apostolic Age would be incomplete without some reference to the two rather puzzling passages in which St. Paul enumerates what, at first sight, appears to be a much more exuberant list of ministerial orders than those which we have treated above. In the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and again in that commonly entitled *Ephesians*, he has occasion to dwell on the unity in diversity exhibited by Christ's mystical Body, the Church. In

Two puzzling passages.

[1] Acts vi. 1. [2] 1 Tim. v. 4, 16.
[3] 1 Tim. v. 9. [4] 1 Tim. v. 10.

the former passage,[1] the context dwells more especially on the diversity of gifts and operations wrought by the One Spirit: in the other,[2] the same phenomena are put before us as gifts of the ascended Christ. The passages bear a strong resemblance to one another. Apostles and prophets head the list in each case; and are followed in the first passage by "teachers," in the second by "evangelists," and then by "pastors and teachers." The concluding items, however, are not alike: the one following on with "miracles, gifts of healings, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues": while the other passes at once to the aim of the royal bounty of the Ascended—the perfecting and building up of the body of Christ. These divergences in the two lists, and the want of internal homogeneity in each, make it clear at once that we are dealing with no formal and precise list of offices, but rather with a suggestive sketch of the various endowments and types of activity in which the Spirit's energy is apt to manifest itself.

The Apostolate, it is true, was a definite office: though it is just possible that the "Apostles" here mentioned are those of an inferior type[3]—the emissaries of churches, counterfeited sometimes by "false apostles."[4] In any case it is the spiritual endowment of an Apostle, not his office, that is prominent; and, in a sense, all the functions enumerated concentrate themselves in the Apostles, strictly so called. Of the Prophets the same is true. Prophecy in the New Testament even was not an office, but a gift: though, in the Palestinian Church at the end of the century, a

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 28 *sqq.*; cf. xii. 4 *sqq.*
[2] Eph. iv. 11 *sqq.*
[3] 2 Cor. viii. 23; Phil. ii. 25.
[4] 2 Cor. xi. 13; Rev. ii. 2.

prophet normally led the liturgy, if one were present;[1] and prophets took part in the solemn mission of Barnabas and Saul, and in the ordination of Timothy.[2] And cautions had to be issued also against *soi-disant* prophets and prophetesses[3] (for the gift was shared by women.[4]

Of prophecy, which in New Testament times included also prediction, we shall have occasion to speak further in the next chapter. The rest of the gifts enumerated in the passages before us are partly temporary, and largely, though not absolutely, peculiar to the age—miracles, gifts of healings and of tongues—partly types and aspects of work, evangelistic, pastoral, doctrinal, administrative, in which the regular settled ministry was engaged. There may also be a suggestion of the various more or less definitely marshalled lay activities that circle round the ministry in a healthy Christian community, and the germ of some of those minor orders, which soon developed in the greater churches.[5]

[1] *Didachê*, x. [2] Acts xii. 2; 1 Tim. i. 18; iv. 14.
[3] 1 John iv. 1; Rev. ii. 20; *Didachê*, xi.
[4] Acts xxi. 9; 1 Cor. xi. 5.
[5] Cf. the statistics given in the letter of Cornelius, Bishop of Rome (*c.* 250 A.D.), in Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 43, quoted above, ch. xi., p. 211.

CHAPTER XIV

THE CHURCH'S INNER LIFE

THE attempt to draw from the New Testament literature a picture of the Church's inner life is confronted at once with a peculiar problem. There can be no doubt whatever as to the dominant note of that inner life—the note of the Spirit: but the manifestations of that Spirit are, in certain ways, so different from those which have ordinarily characterised the Church's subsequent career, as to suggest superficial doubts as to the real continuity and identity of the Church of the first century with the historic body which has borne that name in subsequent periods. A more careful glance is reassuring. It discerns the permanent traits of ministry, sacrament, worship, doctrine, discipline, and life, already visible if not fully developed in the first age; and accepts the task of distinguishing between the extraordinary and the normal, the temporary and the permanent manifestations of that in-dwelling Spirit, which is the factor of identity and continuity in the Church, triumphing over time and space.

Special and normal spiritual phenomena.

The extraordinary manifestations are largely peculiar to the lifetime of the Apostles; and, in the *Acts*, there seems to be, broadly speaking, a steady diminu-

tion of what is commonly called "the miraculous" as the narrative advances, till it dies away in the isolated instance of St. Paul's escape from the viper's fangs at Malta, and the miracles of healing which followed.[1] But the Church of to-day believes that the stable endowment of spiritual power has remained to her through nineteen centuries, and still remains, focussed in her sacramental ordinances, but ranging out beyond them.

Steady diminution of miracles.

It may, indeed, be contended that the special manifestations of the Apostolic age are, with few exceptions, different in degree rather than in kind from what has appeared in Church life since. The Gift of Tongues has been claimed by many a subsequent sect and group—by Franciscans in the thirteenth century as by Irvingites in the nineteenth—and is paralleled by the ecstatic utterances which sometimes accompany a modern revival. The Gift of Prophecy—which must not be identified with mere Prediction, though that reappears in the *Acts* in a form which recalls the methods of Isaiah and Jeremiah[2]—persisted, and still persists, in the relatively inspired utterances of the Church's official and non-official teachers, the kindling quality which is not necessarily given to the man of eloquence or to the theologian as such. Those Gifts of Healing, which are a prominent and essential feature of the Apostles' ministry, as of their Lord's, cannot be said to have ceased in an age when the frequency and variety of faith cures promise to re-

Gifts persist in modified form.

[1] Acts xxviii. 5–9; cf. Mark xvi. 18.

[2] Acts xi. 28; xxi. 11; cf. Isa. xx. 2; Jer. xiii. 1–11; xxvii. 2.

store the credibility of some at least of the ecclesiastical miracles of the so-called "Dark Ages."

Yet all these manifestations assumed, as was natural, a specially striking form in the generation which saw the launching of the Church. The Age of the Apostles was far from uncritical—indeed, in this it was much more like our own than many that have intervened—but it was prepared to welcome and to appreciate "wonders and signs." Above all, the first missionaries and their converts were fired with a consuming devotion. The impression of the Saviour's mighty works was fresh upon them. "We beheld His glory," they could say.[1] The tones of His voice still lingered in their ears; and among them the promise, "Greater things shall ye do."[2] The personal loyalty of their faith was such as to move mountains. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the special needs of that momentous time of initiation were met by extraordinary outpourings of spiritual power.

Extraordinary manifestations suitable to the time.

That is certainly the impression left on us by the record in all its *naïveté* and simple candour; and it is confirmed by the abiding marvel of the New Testament itself. This group of writings bespeaks a special form and degree of inspiration which has not since recurred even within the Church, and is not likely to do so again.

The Gift of Tongues demands some further study, on account of the prominent part it plays at Pentecost, and of the problems raised by the comparison of the various references to it in the New Testament. As it appears in the

Gift of Tongues.

[1] John i. 14. [2] John xiv. 12.

Acts, it is to all intents and purposes a new thing. Anticipations of a kind may, perhaps, be found in the "prophesyings" of Eldad and Medad and the seventy elders, and in those of Samuel and his disciples:[1] nor is a sort of analogy wanting in the pagan religions. The ecstatic utterances of Sibyl and oracle-priestess had no doubt familiarised the Corinthians with a phenomenon externally similar; and may have contributed to their exaggerated estimate of the importance of the Gift of Tongues.

Anticipations in history.

But the first appearance of the gift itself is on the Day of Pentecost,[2] as shed on the Apostles and their companions in the faith at the moment of their "baptism of fire." It recurs in the case of Cornelius's household when, according to St. Peter's own testimony, the same phenomena were reproduced.[3] Later still, when St. Paul at Ephesus rebaptized Apollos' converts, we are told that "the Holy Ghost came on them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied."[4]

Tongues in the Acts.

But the fullest account is that given in the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*.[5] If we compare the indications given there with those of the narrative of Pentecost, we see at once marked differences. The ecstatic utterances which formed so prominent a feature of the Corinthian gatherings, were absolutely unintelligible—even to the utterer—except by the aid of the rare gift of "interpretation of tongues." Of the tongues at Pente-

Tongues in 1 Cor.

[1] Num. xi. 25 *sqq.*; 1 Sam. x. 5 *sqq.*; xix. 20 *sqq.*
[2] Acts ii. 4. [3] Acts x. 46; xi. 15 *sq.*
[4] Acts xix. 6. [5] See esp. 1 Cor. xiv.

cost, which were accompanied by a striking outward sign, it is specially noted that they were astonishingly intelligible: so much so that a widely prevalent tradition down the centuries has attributed to the Apostles a supernatural gift of "foreign languages."[1] This interpretation, however, goes beyond the limits of the text; and the narrative of the evangelisation of Lycaonia shows that St. Paul, at any rate, and St. Barnabas had no intuition of the meaning of obscure dialects.[2] The narrative of *Acts ii.* makes it clear that the phenomenon began with ecstatic utterances of praise within the Apostolic circle before the multitude assembled, and that afterwards the utterances were still of the same character, with nothing of the nature of apologetic or doctrinal discourse, such as that with which St. Peter interpreted the event to the crowd,[3] speaking, doubtless, in Hellenistic Greek or in Aramaic. One or other of these languages (no doubt with dialectical variations) would be known to all the Jews and proselytes assembled. No large range of foreign vocabularies would have been called for in any case. But what arrested their attention and aroused their emotions was a direct appeal from heart to heart, an overmastering onrush of spiritual sympathy, which gave to the adoring ejaculations of these Galilean peasants a universal quality capable of transcending all barriers of vernacular peculiarity and all sundering tendencies due to local upbringing. Spirit touched spirit directly, and the doom of Babel was reversed.

Character of the Pentecostal gift.

The tongues of Pentecost and those of the Corinthian

[1] See, e.g., Proper Preface in Liturgy for Whitsunday.
[2] Acts xiv. 11–14. [3] Acts ii. 14 *sqq.*

Church were alike an object of derision to the unsympathetic.[1] The obvious difference between them lay in this, that at Pentecost no interpreter was needed, while at Corinth the lack of interpretation made the utterances largely unedifying even to believers. The Corinthians, to whom the idea of ecstatic utterances was familiar from their pagan past, valued this type of spiritual exaltation unduly, and took a pride in its use, which made them regardless of edification and even of the orderly decencies of public worship. St. Paul would bring them back to a sense of proportion. Prophecy—the gift of inspired teaching—is, by the standard of a higher pragmatism, judged more edifying, and therefore more precious, while tongues and prophecy alike are subordinated to the supreme and indispensable gift of love.[2]

Tongues at Corinth.

The extraordinary gifts dwindled, it would seem, as the need of them disappeared—as the Church found her footing in the land of her sojourn. The fervour of expectation of the Second Advent still remained, though signs of cooling were not wanting at the end of the period.[3] But the provisional and tentative character of the Church's institutions was giving way to a definite and permanent system, a system, however, patient of infinite variation of detail as the spreading faith made its home with different races, and claimed for Christ the spirit and genius of each. But that variety in non-essentials is set in a framework of general uniformity, extending in many

Crystallising of Church institutions.

[1] Acts ii. 13; 1 Cor. xiv. 23.
[2] 1 Cor. xiii. 1, 2. [3] 2 Peter iii. 3 *sqq.*

cases to details also, which bespeaks an early evolution of the great outlines of Church polity and life, and lends colour to the belief, held from the second century onward, that her ministry, her sacraments, her traditional teaching and discipline—in their simplest form at least—descend to her from the Apostles, and are stamped with the authority of Him Who, before His ascension, spent the best part of six weeks in instructing them concerning "the kingdom of God."[1] That kingdom (granted that the phrase has also a wider significance, ethical and eschatological) is definitely identified with the Church on earth, militant and not yet perfect, by the terms of the Master's own teaching, in His parables of The Tares, The Drag-net, and The Wedding Garment.[2] The ideal character of its citizens is sketched in the Sermon on the Mount,[3] where fasting, almsgiving, and prayer are set forth as typical notes of their religious life, and a model prayer is given them.[4]

Process begun in Apostolic times.

Three definite ordinances are adumbrated in the *Gospels:* Baptism,[5] the rite of entrance into discipleship, the Breaking of Bread,[6] perpetual memorial of Christ's sacrifice, and the Ministry of Reconciliation, the Spirit's gift of authority to absolve—the "binding and loosing" of sins.[7] The *Acts* and the *Epistles* throw more light on these, and add a rite supplementary to bap-

Ordinances adumbrated in Gospels.

[1] Acts i. 3. [2] Matt. xiii. 24–31, 47–50; xxii. 1–13.
[3] Especially in the Beatitudes, Matt. v. 1 *sqq.*
[4] Matt. vi. 1–18. [5] Matt. xxviii. 19; John iii. 3 *sqq.*
[6] Matt. xxvi. 26 and parallels; John vi. 32–59.
[7] John xx. 22, 23; cf. Matt. xvi. 19.

tism in the laying on of Apostolic hands. They show us also a devolution of those plenary ministerial powers bestowed on the Apostolic band by the risen Master; and give us hints about the selection and ordination of the subsidiary orders.

Though they tell us nothing of distinctive ceremonies for burial or for marriage, their reverent hopefulness about the faithful departed,[1] and their sublime teaching on the subject of Christian wedlock,[2] make it clear that neither sepulture nor matrimony would lack, in the Church's benediction, the germ of those beautiful rites which later years developed. Finally St. James enjoins an unction of the sick by the "elders of the church," which, though differing alike in form and in intention from the "Extreme Unction" of the Roman Church, has all the appearance of a definite and formal rite.[3]

Baptism was to be of universal obligation: "all nations" were to be brought into discipleship by baptism "into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."[4] And baptism—implying, of course, in adult converts some previous enlightenment—was to be followed by definite and comprehensive instruction, the catechetical teaching which in later centuries preceded baptism.[5] It was accompanied by some form of confession of faith such as that preserved in one text of the narrative of St. Philip's baptism of the Eunuch, in a verse which, if it be not deliberately omitted in the majority of texts, owing to a desire to conceal the Christian mysteries, must be

Baptism.

Confession of faith.

[1] 1 Thess. iv. 13 *sqq.*; 1 Cor. xv.
[2] Eph. v. 22 *sqq.*
[3] James v. 14 *sqq.*
[4] Matt. xxviii. 19.
[5] *Ibid.*, 20.

an extremely early illustrative expansion in the Bezan type of MS.

Candidate: Behold here is water: what doth hinder me to be baptized?

Minister: If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest.

Candidate: I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.[1]

This primitive and informal creed soon gave place to that formal confession of the Trinity-in-Unity which is implied in the baptismal formula, and forms the nucleus of our "Apostles' Creed." Something of the kind is probably meant in the reference to the good confession "confessed by Timothy" in the sight of many witnesses,[2] and possibly also in St. Peter's "interrogation of a good conscience."[3]

Baptismal formula.

For, unless we expunge, on purely subjective grounds, the cardinal passage at the end of the First Gospel, we shall find it difficult to doubt that this Trinitarian formula was used from the first. St. Luke, it is true, in his narrative describes the rite in such clear but untechnical phrases as "baptized into the Name of the Lord Jesus": but so also does the *Didachê*, some twenty years later, which, however, records also the formula to be used in the precise terms of St. Matthew's Gospel. The same treatise, which, though it is held to represent a local and Judaistic type of Christianity, may be trusted to give us indications of the baptismal practices of the end of the first century, speaks of a fast before baptism for baptizer and baptized; for the latter, of two or three days' duration.

[1] Acts viii. 36, 37. [2] 1 Tim. vi. 12. [3] 1 Peter iii. 21.

It also makes it clear that though triple immersion, and that in living water, was the rule, a triple aspersion (or rather pouring of the water on the head) was permissible in case of necessity, even in primitive days.[1]

Minister of baptism.

As regards the minister of baptism, there are indications that the Apostles, in course of time, delegated this, as well as other work, to their subordinates, following, perhaps, the example of their Master in the days of His mission.[2] At the outset the first three thousand converts were probably distributed for baptism among the whole group of 120 believers. Whether baptism was always followed as soon as possible by the laying on of an Apostle's hands we have no data for judging. There is only the isolated instance of Samaria recorded: but the narrator is evidently impressed with the importance of the principle involved.[3] The significance of Christian baptism is strikingly enunciated by both St. Peter and St. Paul.

Inner meaning of baptism.

For St. Paul, baptism is cardinal as faith itself: "One Lord, one faith, one baptism." The plunge beneath the waters represents a death to sin, a sharing of the Redeemer's death and burial; the coming forth again, a new birth unto righteousness, a participation in Christ's resurrection life.[4] The font is a "laver of regeneration and a renewing of the Holy Ghost" whereby God's mercy saves us.[5] St. Peter likewise speaks of baptism as a saving ordinance, of which the "putting away of the filth of the flesh" is but a poor

[1] *Didachê*, vii. [2] John iv. 2. [3] Acts viii. 14 *sqq.*
[4] Rom. vi. 4 *sqq.* [5] Titus iii. 5.

image, and associates it with the power of the resurrection and of the ascended Christ.[1]

The new life.

With the completion of the rite—followed immediately, it may be, by the imposition of hands—the neophyte entered on a new life. With his new white robe he had "put on Christ."[2] All things were become new; and the spiritual elation often vented itself in ecstatic utterance. The circle of the "Brethren" into which baptism initiated him was one to kindle high enthusiasm by the magnetism of its spiritual atmosphere. Henceforth he was to share their supernatural privileges and their material risks, to rejoice and suffer with the rest as a living member of the Body. We can imagine the contagious joy and gladness with which the new member was welcomed into the primitive community at Jerusalem, the loyalty with which he listened to the teachings and followed the leadings of the Apostles, whose authority was accredited day by day by fresh "wonders and signs." The Apostles towered above the rest: but all were "brethren," bound by the bonds of family love, fellow disciples of the one Master.

Places of worship.

The Church began in a private house—in the same upper room, it may be, where the Eucharist had been instituted. And as it grew and spread it seems to have organised itself usually in numbers of such household groups, centralised, more or less, in the original house where the Apostle had found hospitality in his evangelistic visit. This we may gather alike from the *Acts* and

[1] 1 Peter iii. 21, 22.

[2] Rom. xiii. 14; Gal. iii. 27; cf. Eph. iv. 24; Col. iii. 10.

from the *Epistles*.[1] The private and more intimate reunions, where spiritual fellowship among the brethren was unrestrained, met in these private houses, and it was here that the "breaking of bread" took place and the most distinctive elements of Christian worship began to develop. The public meetings of the Church at Jerusalem—meetings of a missionary character at which the unconverted were present—took place in the Temple, usually, it would seem, at the "hours of prayer." It is not till the date of St. James's Epistle (*c.* 50 A.D.) that we have evidence of a special building, a Christian "synagogue"; and the earliest known church building in the modern sense of the word, at Antioch, may have been the transformed private house of a wealthy convert, like the primitive churches in Rome.

The elements of Church life enumerated in the second chapter of the *Acts*—Apostolic doctrine, communion, breaking of bread, and prayers—were all gathered up into the scheme of the early liturgies, and were represented, doubtless, in principle in the first celebrations of the Christian Feast. But the passage in question[2] probably has reference to two types of worship, which persisted when the Church spread outside Jerusalem.

Public meetings.

(1) There was the general and public meeting held, as we have mentioned, in the Temple at Jerusalem, and usually in Solomon's Portico. It seems to have been preceded by attendance at the morning or evening sacrifice, and to have been marked sometimes by a display of miraculous

[1] See, e.g., Acts xvi. 15, xviii. 2, 7; Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Col. iv. 15.

[2] Acts ii. 42, 46.

power, which would then form the text of an Apostolic sermon. It was at these meetings that conversions were made. With this may be classed St. Philip's and St. Peter's preaching at Samaria, and St. Paul's preaching in synagogue or market-place, by river-side, or in his lodgings at Rome.

In the Gentile Church, when the breach from Judaism came—as it usually did as soon as Gentile converts and hearers began to frequent the synagogue in large numbers—a move was made, as at Corinth, to the house of Titus Justus and at Ephesus to the school of Tyrannus.

It is more than likely that in some cases at least certain elements of that synagogue worship which had been associated with the first preaching of the Gospel would be carried across to the new environment. And when the new environment was, as at Corinth, a large private house, whose atrium would contain a considerable body of worshippers, the Love-feast and the Eucharist would immediately follow. This would account for the early development of psalmody and lections of scripture in connexion with the celebration of the Eucharist.

Private meetings.

(2) Secondly, there was this private meeting for believers only, held, both at Jerusalem and no doubt elsewhere, "at home" or "in the various houses."[1] Its principal feature was the "breaking of bread." Of this central ordinance, as celebrated in the first age, few details have come down to us. There is the mention of the thanksgiving itself (which was at first, no doubt, extempore, but gradually assumed a stereotyped form), of the *Amen* which followed it, and the Kiss of Peace. There are what seem to be

Eucharistic worship.

[1] κατ' οἶκον, Acts ii. 46.

doxologies and fragments of liturgical hymns,[1] and a sketch of that comprehensive form of intercession—of which a beautiful type is found towards the end of St. Clement's Epistle (*c.* 95)[2]—which is characteristic of all the historic liturgies.

The words with which the Saviour instituted the ordinance were known to the first believers; they have handed them down to us. We may be sure they were ever in their minds at the time of celebration, and it is not improbable that Christ's formula would be repeated on each occasion. Nor is there any *à priori* unlikelihood in the suggestion put forward by St. Gregory the Great that the Apostles used the Lord's Prayer when celebrating. The *Pater Noster* is nowhere mentioned, strangely enough, in the *Acts* or *Epistles*, but it occurs in the *Didachè*, with the doxology appended, just before the (very Judaistic) formula for Eucharistic thanksgiving.[3]

Eucharist in the Acts.

The only certain reference to the Eucharist in the *Acts* after the first days is in the narrative of St. Paul's visit to Troas in 57 A.D., where St. Paul's long discourse at midnight in the upper chamber "where there were many lights burning" is followed by a formal "Breaking of the Bread," and then a meal. The meeting, we are told, was on the first day of the week, and the Breaking of Bread was its *raison d'être*.[4] By far the fullest account is that which occurs in the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*. The meetings described there are not normal, but disorderly and unedifying; but the Apostle's rebuke is

Eucharist in 1 Cor.

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 9; 1 Tim. i. 19, iii. 16, vi. 16; 2 Tim. ii. 11.
[2] Clem., *Cor.*, lix.-lxi [3] See below, p. 298. [4] Acts xx. 7–11.

full of incidental information. It is clear from this passage (as we might have judged from the undefined use of the phrase "Breaking of Bread" in the *Acts*) that the Eucharist proper was at first associated with a social meal. In this, the primitive Christians were following the example set by the Saviour at the institution; and the meal put them at the same time in line with the various societies and guilds in the Greek cities. To this meal, which was known as the *Agapê* or Love Feast,[1] the various brethren, richer and poorer, brought their own contributions. At a certain point—perhaps as climax of the feast—the formal "Breaking of Bread" took place, the "Offering of the Gifts," as St. Clement calls it,[2] though his words may apply more widely to the contributions and alms of the faithful in general.

Scandals at Corinth.

At Corinth, scandals arose in connexion with this "Supper of the Lord," as the whole feast seems to have been called, because the rich consumed in haste their own quota, without waiting for the others, and let the poor go starving: what should have been a feast of love became an exhibition of selfish greed and drunkenness. St. Paul demands the restoration of order and self-restraint,[3] and enjoins a searching self-examination as preliminary to the celebration,[4] and an attitude of deepest reverence towards the sacred mysteries enacted.[5]

Eucharistic doctrine.

His record of the Lord's words of institution, interesting in itself, might be taken as a recommendation to keep those words ever

[1] Jude 12.
[2] Clem., *Cor.*, xliv., προσφέρειν τὰ δῶρα; cf. xl., xli.
[3] 1 Cor. xi. 33 *sqq.* [4] 1 Cor. xi. 27 *sqq.* [5] 1 Cor. x. 16.

in mind during the celebration,[1] which he regards as a "proclaiming of the Lord's death,"[2] and a sacrificial act, contrasting it with "the cup" and "the table of devils," that is, with the pagan sacrificial feasts.[3] We have, however, another and a later testimony to the Apostolic beliefs about the Eucharist, if we may not be bold enough to interpret the worship of the Lamb so graphically described in the Apocalypse as an idealised description of an actual Christian Liturgy. The Gospel of St. John speaks to us from the last years of the century; and gives us a glimpse of the inner significance of the Eucharist, in his matured memories of the Saviour's teaching about Himself as the Bread of Life,[4] and of the necessity of eating the Flesh of the Son of Man and drinking His Blood—phrases which, however wide and general their scope, can no more be dissociated from the Eucharistic Feast than can the record of the conversation with Nicodemus from the rite of Christian baptism. For the John who wrote this Gospel at the end of the first century it is clear that the Eucharist was a real feeding on Christ's Flesh and Blood, and Baptism a genuine new birth of water and the Spirit; and that he found these doctrines in the treasure-house of memory, where were stored the sayings of the Master with Whom he had been so intimate.

Eucharist and Agapê.

Towards the end of the first century a change was made in the relation between Eucharist and Agapê—when, exactly, we cannot say, though we have already drawn attention to the conjecture which connects legislation on the

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 23–8. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 26.
[3] 1 Cor. x. 18–21. [4] John vi. 33 *sqq.*

subject with an Apostolic Council about the year 70 A.D. At the opening of the second century the two were already separated. This is abundantly clear from Pliny's letter, where he describes the Christian meetings—the first, for worship, before daybreak on a fixed day: the second, after an interval, for a harmless and innocent meal. This second meeting they discontinued, in deference to the governor's representations thatit involved an infringement of the regulations about clubs. Some fifty or fifty-five years earlier, when St. Paul wrote his instructions to the Corinthians, Agapê and Eucharist were still mingled together. The disorderliness of the celebration at Corinth had called for reform: St. Paul had spoken strongly on the subject, and promised to take further order on his next visit to the city. He did so, no doubt, in the winter of 56–7 A.D.,[1] but we have no record thereof. At Troas, where he celebrated after leaving Corinth, the "Breaking of Bread" and the meal are still associated: but the wording of the narrative suggests that the Eucharist came first and the social meal afterwards.[2]

Separation of Agapê from Eucharist.

We have not, however, any precise data as to the moment when the two were definitely separated, nor any record of the motive of the change. But we can scarcely doubt that reverence was the main motive. In the elevated simplicity of the primitive life of the brethren, it had been natural to hallow every social meal with the solemn breaking of Bread: but in the less austere atmosphere of Gentile Christianity abuses soon crept in. And, as the leaders of Christian thought (St. Paul and St. John are instances) grew in conscious-

[1] Acts xx. 2 *sqq.* [2] Acts xx. 18.

ness of the greatness of the mystery involved in the Lord's simple phrases "This is My Body," "This is My Blood," it became natural to fence the Lord's Table about with reverential precautions. Like baptism and the laying on of hands, the rite, coming now to be generally identified with the "Pure offering" of Malachi, was seen to call for the pure and concentrated devotion which abstinence from food at once symbolises and stimulates. We may be justified in picturing the aged St. John when he celebrated, or, in later phrase, "pontificated," clad (if we may take the tradition literally) in a sacerdotal breastplate,[1] as ministering fasting to a fasting congregation in the early morning of the Lord's Day. If we would fill up the picture further, we shall draw from Pliny's honest record evidence that the "sacrament" (he uses the word, but inevitably misunderstands it) was preceded by antiphonal singing in which Christ was adored as God, while the Sacrament itself involved a pledge of virtuous living and obedience to the moral law. Clement's *Epistle* supplies us with a contemporary type of Eucharistic prayer, and Justin Martyr's *Apology*, forty years after Pliny's letter, gives us a fairly full outline of what must have been the primitive liturgical usage for the Sunday Eucharist. First, there are lections, then a sermon followed by prayer, after which the bread and wine are brought to the presiding minister, who consecrates, apparently, with an extempore prayer. The congregation responds with a solemn "Amen." Next comes the Communion, and carrying of the Sacrament to absent members by the

A celebration in the Apostolic Age.

[1] Polycrates of Ephesus, in Eus., *H. E.*, iii. 31.

deacons. The "kiss of peace" is mentioned by Justin, and a weekly collection for the poor and distressed.

Observance of days.

In the first period at Jerusalem the Eucharist seems to have been celebrated daily; the weekly celebration on Sunday, which is the rule in Justin Martyr's time, and is doubtless referred to in the "fixed day" of Pliny, appears first about 56–7 A.D. in St. Paul's instructions to the Corinthians[1] and in the record of his visit to Troas.[2] But the concluding scenes of the Fourth Gospel furnish us with what may be the key to the origin of this special observance. On two successive Sundays—the day of His resurrection and the octave—the Lord is related to have granted to the assembled disciples the benediction of His presence. By the end of the century this "first day of the week," hallowed afresh by the Gift of Pentecost, is known as "the Lord's Day,"[3] a weekly commemoration of the Resurrection.[4] And to Pliny's contemporary, St. Ignatius, the first-day observance already typifies the new dispensation in contrast to the old: "no longer Sabbath-keeping," he says, "but living a Lord's-Day life."[5]

The Lord's Day.

Weekly fasts.

No other weekly commemoration has left any trace in the New Testament, but the Friday fast will have had its origin within the century, though our only document for this is the *Didachê*.[6] Christ had laid down the principle of fasting, alike in example[7] and by precept,[8] but the

[1] 1 Cor. xvi. 2. [2] Acts xx. 7. [3] Rev. i. 10; *Didachê*.
[4] Cf. Justin, *Apol.*, 66. [5] Ign., *Magn.*, ix. [6] *Didachê*, viii.
[7] Matt. iv. 2; Luke iv. 2. [8] Matt. vi. 16-18.

Gospels give no precise directions as to days. The typical Pharisee in our Lord's Parable congratulates himself on fasting "twice in the week";[1] and we learn from the *Didachê* that this "fasting of the hypocrites" took place on Mondays and Thursdays—the second day and the fifth. The Judaistic Christian community to which the treatise is addressed is enjoined to make a distinction, and observe instead Wednesdays and Fridays: the former, perhaps, as commemorating the Saviour's betrayal: the latter almost certainly in memory of His crucifixion.

Of annual commemorations it is probable that Easter was the earliest, though there is no absolutely certain trace of its observance in the New Testament.[2] The great days kept by the primitive Jewish Christians were no doubt those of the Jewish Calendar; and it is apparently in this sense—though perhaps with an added feeling for its Christian significance—that St. Paul takes pains to keep the Pentecost of 57 A.D. at Jerusalem.

Easter.

The Circumcision Christians doubtless observed the Sabbath as a matter of course, side by side with the Lord's Day; and St. Paul himself constantly made use of the Sabbath synagogue services as a means of propagating his message in Gentile cities.[3] This certainly went on long after the "turning to the Gentiles" in Pisidian Antioch, at least, till the breach with the Jews at Ephesus (*c.* 54 A.D.).[4] After that, neither synagogue nor Sabbath enters into his missionary scheme and, during his first imprison-

Sabbath and Lord's Day.

[1] Luke xviii. 12. [2] Unless it is in 1 Cor. v. 8 *sqq*.
[3] e.g. Acts xiii. 14, 44; xvi. 13; xvii. 2; xviii. 4.
[4] Acts xix. 9.

ment at Rome, he warns the Colossians, as he had warned the Galatians seven years before, against such observances,[1] as being a return to bondage, and his language appears superficially to forbid all special commemorations.[2] But the more liberal doctrine of the Epistle to the *Romans*—written midway between the Epistles just referred to and shortly before his own observance of the "first day" at Troas—shows us that it is the Judaistic system and the Judaistic spirit that he has in mind. It is a token that, to the Apostolic Christianity, the Lord's Day was no Sabbath to be kept with punctilious and mechanical scrupulousness, as though it had a kind of magical sanctity differentiating it from every other day; but rather a spontaneous rhythmical outburst of thanksgiving for the resurrection life, and a recurring opportunity of feeding afresh upon that life at its source, and so hallowing all the days: for the ascending Master had promised to be with them in all, while a special benediction of His presence had been pledged to grace their definite gatherings in His Name.

[1] Col. ii. 16. [2] Gal. iv. 10; Rom. xiv. 5.

CHAPTER XV

THE LITERATURE OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE

ONE of the most remarkable characteristics of Apostolic Christianity is its literature. That a single generation should have produced the whole of that group of writings which we know as the New Testament is in itself an extraordinary thing. But when we consider, on the one hand, the educational antecedents (viewed from a non-Christian point of view) of those who wrote it, and, on the other hand, the extent of the influence of their writings upon the literature and the thought and conduct of subsequent humanity, the marvel is multiplied. The New Testament is not only recognised as being equal—nay, superior—to that unique collection of Hebrew Scriptures which it claims to supplement and complete—a collection (be it remembered) which is the product of many centuries—but Western culture in general recognises its debt to the New Testament authors, who gave a new turn and direction to every form of literary expression, opening fresh vistas to the thinker, and at the same time supplying him with corresponding words and phrases begotten of that marriage of Hebrew and Hellenic thought which alone was adequate to solve

Uniqueness of Apostolic literature.

the problem of clothing in human speech the vision of "a new heaven and a new earth."

Christianity is, in a sense, the child of Judaism. The history of Judaism is, as has been said, the "preface" to that of the Christian Church; the Jewish Scriptures were at first her only Bible.[1] The Church's literature, like her life, originated with the Old Covenant, and the importance of her inheritance of the Old Testament Scriptures cannot be exaggerated. The intensity of its influence may be judged not only from the savour of Old Testament ideas and phraseology which is noticeable in every single book of the New Testament, and still more, perhaps, in non-canonical writings of the first period, like the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Didaché*,[2] but also from monumental remains.

Influence of Old Testament.

This influence has left its mark very impressively on early Christian art. The Catacombs at Rome, with their rude symbolic drawings of Jonah, Job, Daniel, and the Three Children,[3] bear witness at once to the way in which Old Testament stories had interwoven themselves into the texture of Christian thought, and to the hold which a Messianic interpretation of the passages concerned had already achieved.

The New Testament, new as it is in more senses than one, would have been impossible without the Old; and so the sacred literature of the Hebrews is, in an adoptive sense, the first literature of the Apostolic Church.

[1] See Duchesne, *op. cit.*, ch. iv., pp. 37–40.
[2] See below, pp. 294–8.
[3] Duchesne, p. 40.

Speaking broadly, we may say that in the Old Testament, as we commonly term it, together with such apocryphal writings as had made themselves popular in the first century of our era, we have the literary background of Apostolic writings, the soil in which Christian literature germinated. The large majority of the books which in A.D. 70 were formally and finally accepted as canonical by the representatives of Jewish learning, are cited or referred to in the New Testament,[1] which quotes also, or implies, such apocryphal works as the Book of Wisdom, the Assumption of Moses, and the Book of Enoch.[2]

Use of Old Testament in New.

The immediate background of our Lord's own teaching, as exhibited in the Gospels, is often to be found on the

[1] At the Synod of Jamnia, *c.* 70 A.D., the Hebrew Canon finally assumed its present shape, but it was practically settled some centuries earlier. The books not quoted in N.T. are Obadiah and Nahum (parts of the single book of the Twelve Prophets), Ezra and Nehemiah (which Chronicles, quoted in Matt. xxiii. 35, Luke xi. 51, carries with it), and Esther, Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. The last three, though their canonicity was long disputed by the Rabbis, were accepted by Josephus and by the author of 4 Esdras (*c.* 90 A.D.); their omission from allusion in N.T. is, therefore, probably due to the fact that they did not happen to lend themselves to quotation (see Ryle, *Canon of O.T.*, pp. 161 *sqq.*).

[2] St. Paul's language on predestination and other matters implies dependence on *Wisdom* (see C. Siegfried, in *Hastings*, s.v. "Wisdom"), and there are allusions to the book also in *Heb.* (Heb. i. 3, cf. Wisd. vii. 26; Heb. iv. 12, cf. Wisd. vii. 22 *sq.*). *The Assumption of Moses* (first century, early), or rather an appendix, now lost, to the extant book (see *Hastings*, s.v. "Moses, Assumption of"), is used in Jude 9, and the extant *Book of Enoch* is loosely but unmistakably cited in Jude 14, 15.

The sub-Apostolic writers quote also the books of Judith, Tobit, 4 Esdras, and the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (see Pullan, *Church of the Fathers*, p. 15).

lake shores, the vine-clad slopes, the mountain pastures of Galilee. The scenery is that appropriate to the daily routine of the life of fishermen, husbandmen, shepherds. From these Palestinian backgrounds, which in their very nature are all but cosmopolitan—so uniquely does the Promised Land afford a compendium of the world's many types of scenery—we pass insensibly to those parables that seem based on that bare, simple, fundamental human nature which is the same for all ages and countries: the Rich Fool,[1] the Lost Coin,[2] the Prodigal Son.[3] . . . Yet each of these has its touch of local colour, and not seldom there is a scenic background which recedes ultimately into the blue distances of Old Testament life. Such parables as the Marriage Feast,[4] the Pharisee and the Publican,[5] the Good Samaritan,[6] direct as is their appeal to all, cannot be fully appreciated without some knowledge of local tradition and customary usage. All this is natural in One Who, like the prophets who came before and prepared the way for Him, addressed Himself primarily to the generation of those among whom He moved, and through them to posterity. But the relation of Christ's teaching to the Old Testament is far more immediate and decisive. From first to last it is steeped in Old Testament thought and phraseology and while stamped with the originality of Him Who taught as One having authority, and not as the Scribes,[7] justifies to the full the claim that He was come not to destroy but to fulfil

O.T. background of Christ's teaching.

His use of it.

[1] Luke xii. 16 *sqq.* [2] Luke xv. 8 *sqq.* [3] Luke xv. 11 *sqq.*
[4] Matt. xxii. 1 *sqq.* [5] Luke xviii. 9 *sqq.* [6] Luke x. 30 *sqq.*
[7] Matt. vii. 29.

the Law.[1] The unity and spirituality of Almighty God, and His fatherly relation to His people—man's fallen state and need of Divine succour, and God's ever-ready gift of life as a response to penitent faith—these, and many other fundamental Old Testament thoughts, underlie our Lord's doctrine and work: while the glimpses shown us of His own devotional life suggest that it was nurtured on those Psalms which have always held a high place in the spiritual treasury of His followers.[2] And, to the New Testament writers, the Master passed on an intensified reverence for those Scriptures on which they also had been nourished; and therewith that spirit of unconquerable forward-looking hope which is one of the most characteristic traits of the Old Testament literature.

Handed on to His disciples.

It was, then, in a vast horizon of theological, ethical, and religious ideas that the Lord's immediate followers had been accustomed to move. The Old Testament had itself provided a liberal education for this group of peasants and fishermen; and provided them, under the stimulus of intimacy with the Master, with an outlook infinitely wider than that of their outwardly more "civilised" contemporaries. The ideas which, after Pentecost, they were to pour forth upon the world—reinforced, as was the original group, by the addition of such a cultured Gentile as St. Luke and such a deeply learned and gifted Pharisee as St. Paul—were such as to strain to the utmost the capacities of the richest and most flexible

Pentecostal interpretation.

[1] Matt. v. 17.

[2] Cf. His use during the crucifixion of Psalms xxii. (Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 34), xxxi. (Luke xxiii. 46), and lxix. (John xix. 28).

of European tongues. Hellenistic Greek becomes, in the mouths of the New Testament writers, a new language: for it is to be the vehicle of thoughts hitherto undreamed of—the message of Him Who saith: "Behold, I make all things new!"[1] The Old Testament, then, was the first Christian Bible; and it was out of the Pentecostal interpretation of those Scriptures in the light of the Messiah's life and teaching that the New Testament Canon gradually grew up.

"Scripture" in N.T. means O.T.

For the first Christians, "Scripture" means the Old Testament—the Hebrew Canon sometimes, sometimes the Septuagint translation with its apocryphal additions—nothing more and nothing less. It is to these Scriptures that our Lord referred His Jewish disputants;[2] and, from them, in their threefold classification of "Law, Prophets, and Psalms," He furnished His disciples after His resurrection with an authoritative model of Messianic exegesis.[3] These are the Scriptures to which St. Paul refers again and again with reverence and thankfulness, as authoritative, as "inspired of God," as instinct with salutary teaching and with prophetic disclosures.[4] They form also the sole text-book of St. Peter and his companions in their first preaching at Jerusalem, which is (in fact) from the opening quotation of Joel onwards a direct application of Old Testament prophecy to the slain and risen Jesus as Messiah.[5] There is only a single

[1] Rev. xxi. 5. [2] John v. 39. [3] Luke xxiv. 27, 44.

[4] Cf., e.g., Rom. iii. 2, xv. 4; 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4; Gal. iii. 8, 22; 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16, and the recurring phrase "It is written" (as also in the Gospels, especially Matt. iii. and Luke iii.).

[5] Acts ii. 14 *sqq.*, iii. 12 *sqq.* Cf. also 1 Peter i. 10 *sqq.*, ii. 6 *sqq.*

passage in the whole of the New Testament where the title "Scripture" is applied, even by inference, to anything but the Old Testament Canon, and that is the much disputed reference in 2 Peter.[1] Otherwise, it is not till the second half of the second century[2] that we find the title "Scripture" applied to the Gospels: while Justin Martyr, some twenty years earlier, represents the transition stage when the substantive γραφή is still applied exclusively to the Old Testament, while the formal phrase "It is written" already introduces quotations from the New Testament writings.[3]

Later application of "Scripture" to N.T.

Though the first germs of the new Canon are to be sought in the Pentecostal interpretation of Old Testament prophecies delivered to an assembly of Jews and proselytes, it was the admission of the Gentiles into the Church, in ever-increasing numbers, that forced on the development of a Canon more inclusive and comprehensive than that of the Old Testament.

Development of N.T. Canon.

For the original preachings of St. Paul to the Jews of the Dispersion in the synagogues of Syria and Asia Minor the Hebrew Scriptures, supplemented by Christian interpretation, supplied ample material: but the exclamation, "Lo! we turn to the Gentiles,"[4] marks

[1] 2 Peter iii. 15, 16. This passage itself is regarded by many moderate critics as convincing proof that the Epistle is not really St Peter's, but a later product. Needless to say that this does not affect the canonicity of 2 Peter.

[2] In Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* 170 A.D.) as quoted by Eusebius.

[3] The phrase "Old Testament" (implying a "New") is first found in Melito of Sardis, *c.* 175 A.D.

[4] Acts xiii. 46.

the opening of a realised mission to the whole world, for which the Scriptures of a single nation would soon prove inadequate. The fierce struggle against Judaising tendencies, some of the important consequences of which we have already noted, emphasised the need of distinctive Christian teaching: and led the Apostle, while abating nothing of his loyalty and reverence for the Hebrew Canon, to lay more and more stress on that "tradition" or "deposit" of "sound doctrine" which holds so conspicuous a place in the Pastoral Epistles, and is described in the *Epistle of St. Jude* as the "faith once delivered to the saints."[1]

Origin in needs of Gentile Christianity.

This oral tradition, the heads of which were perhaps already concreting themselves into a sort of creed,[2] seem to have embodied that "catena" of the words and deeds of the Lord which had already begun, as St. Paul wrote, to assume regular narrative form, crystallising (so to speak) in the shape of those "numerous narratives" referred to by St. Luke in the preface to his Gospel,[3] which were themselves to be supplanted ere long by the four authoritative Gospels ultimately recognised as canonical. Of these latter, the third and fourth alone declare to us the purpose of their writers: St. Luke's, to provide

"Form of sound words."

Transition from oral to written tradition.

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 6, 16, vi. 1, 20; 2 Tim. ii. 2, cf. iii. 14; Jude 3.

[2] The phrases "confession," "deposit," etc., imply as much; cf. 1 Cor. xv. 3–8 and 2 Tim. ii. 8. On the growth of an idea of a Canon of the New Testament, see article by C. H. Turner in *Journal of Theological Studies*, October, 1908.

[3] Luke i. 1. The *logia* or "oracles," originally written (according to Papias) in Hebrew by St. Matthew, were probably among the earliest of these *catenae*. See *infra.*, p. 289 *sq.*

the illustrious convert Theophilus with an ordered and accurate narrative of the subjects in which he had been instructed as a catechumen:[1] St. John's, with the more definitely dogmatic intention of bringing home to his readers the life-giving conviction of the Messiahship of Jesus.[2] But neither they nor their fellow-evangelists make any claim to range their writings side by side with those of the Old Testament. It was the writings themselves that made that claim and eventually enforced it. But though these Gospels obtained very quickly the devotion and reverence of Christendom—otherwise their position in the second century becomes inexplicable—their technically "scriptural" character is first affirmed, as we have seen, in extant literature, about 170 A.D.[3]

What is true of this kernel of the precious tradition is naturally still more true of the letters of Apostles, written as they originally were to meet needs and problems of a local and temporary character. True, some of these—including probably the large majority of the Pauline Epistles—were already in circulation before any of the Gospels were committed to writing; and, as Apostolic letters, they forced themselves, so to speak, on the notice of those churches to which they were severally addressed. But their appeal was primarily individual, not general, like that of the "tradition." Yet it was as letters that they obtained a footing side by side with Scripture. St. Paul's Epistles were, no doubt, from the first, read aloud in the meetings for worship of the churches to which they were addressed. The

Apostolic letters.

[1] Luke i. 3, 4. [2] John xx. 31.

[3] By Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth (*supra*, p. 279).

general character of the greetings in them implies as much; and the Epistle to the Colossians[1] contains an instruction from the Apostle himself enjoining an exchange of letters with the neighbouring Church of Laodicea.[2]

Epistles associated with O.T. Scriptures in meetings.

Now since, after the Tradition of the Synagogue, there was a "reading"[3] of the Old Testament Scriptures at these Christian gatherings, the reading of Apostolic Epistles side by side with them would familiarise the minds of the believers with such an association, and help on the canonising process, leading eventually to that threefold lectionary of Prophet, Gospel, and "Apostle," which is characteristic of the primitive type of Liturgy.[4] And if, in the Church's third generation, the *Epistle of Clement* continued to be read Sunday by Sunday in the Corinthian assembly,[5] we cannot but presume that passages from St. Paul's famous Epistles to the same church would have attained a like honour at a much earlier date.

Thus Christendom became gradually accustomed to place certain of her own literary products side by side with the traditional Scriptures she had inherited from the Church of the Old Covenant; and the alteration of perspective which the lapse of time brought with

[1] Col. iv. 16.

[2] The Epistle to the Ephesians lacks convincing authority for its specific title, and is thought by many to have been an encyclical, intended to be passed round among various churches.

[3] Cf. 1 Tim. iv. 13: "Give heed to reading."

[4] Cf. Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i. 67.

[5] As is affirmed by Dionysius of Corinth in his letter to Soter of Rome, *c.* 170 A.D. (ap. Euseb., *H. E.*, iv. 23).

it, as the immediate expectation of the Second Advent faded, favoured the recognition of the permanent value of these post-Pentecostal writings, and made the formal acknowledgment of a second canon only a matter of time. The later stages of that process (roughly 100-300 A.D.) belong to the story of the *Church of the Fathers*:[1] it remains for us here to survey as briefly as possible the field of Apostolic literature as represented in the New Testament Canon, supplementing this summary survey with a notice of the chief extra-canonical Christian writings of the Apostolic Age.

Survey of literature of Apostolic Age.

We must begin with the Gospels, which have always held the place of honour in the Canon: though in point of actual date the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John are, doubtless, later than many of the New Testament Epistles, the large majority of which had seen the light before the appearance of St. Mark's Gospel. This is not the place to enter into the discussion of the synoptic problem. As regards the relations of the first three Gospels to one another, and the precise circumstances of their origin, much still remains obscure. It is now generally admitted that St. Mark is the earliest, and retains to-day practically the form in which it left the hands of the writer, companion first of St. Paul and St. Barnabas,[2] and later of St. Peter,[3] whose teaching the Gospel traditionally represents.[4] This "second" Gospel,

The Gospels.

[1] See the second volume of this series; Pullan, *Church of the Fathers*, especially pp. 16 and 92.

[2] Acts xii. 25, etc. Then with his cousin Barnabas in Cyprus (Acts xv. 37–9); then with St. Paul at Rome (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24).

[3] 1 Peter v. 13.

[4] See the quotation from Papias, given below, p. 290.

according to our order, was almost certainly used (but used independently), together with other sources, in the compilation of the first and the third, which agree verbally in the large amount of matter which they have in common with St. Mark, but differ widely elsewhere.

St. Luke, "the beloved physician,"[1] companion of St. Paul in his later missionary journeys,[2] doubtless the author both of the Third Gospel and of the Acts, implies that he had access to various documents when compiling his Gospel narrative;[3] and St. Matthew (if he is responsible for the First Gospel in its present Greek form) used, no doubt, an earlier Hebrew work of his own on the Lord's "sayings" or "oracles" which is mentioned by Papias.[4]

These three Gospels may be roughly dated: St. Mark *c.* 62 A.D., St. Matthew *c.* 69 A.D., and St. Luke between 70 and 75 A.D. The Fourth Gospel, which criticism is now again much more ready to attribute to the Apostle St. John,[5] is doubtless the product of his old age, forming with the three Johannine Epistles and the Apocalypse the latest group of the New Testament writings.

The four Gospels stand by themselves—"the holy quaternion," as Eusebius calls them.[6] The sacredness of their subject evoked a special reverence for them in the primitive Church, and they formed the original nucleus of the Canon. But, though they

[1] Col. iv. 14.

[2] Acts xvi. 10 *sqq.* and xx. 5 *sqq.*; Philem. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 11, with St. Paul during second imprisonment at Rome.

[3] Luke i. 1. [4] Eus., *H. E.*, iii.

[5] Though Harnack persists in attributing it to "another gentleman of the same name," Papias' "John the Elder."

[6] Eus., *H. E.*, iii. 25.

stand by themselves, they are linked to the rest of the writings by more than a single link. The subject of the Third Gospel is continued in a second volume by the same hand, a "Gospel of the Holy Spirit": while the first Johannine Epistle is obviously a kind of supplement to the Fourth Gospel.

The Acts.

The Pauline Epistles are closely related by historical links to the Acts, which forms, as it were, their setting, narrating for us the foundation of many of the churches to which the Apostle's letters were subsequently addressed: while the Epistles occasionally record for us facts and details of St. Paul's life which have been passed over in silence by the author of the Acts.[1]

Pauline Epistles.

The letters of St. James, St. Jude, and St. Peter, addressed, like the Epistle to the Hebrews, to groups of Jewish Christians, introduce us to the needs and circumstances of Hebrew-Christian communities at a period when the Acts has become wholly occupied with the story of St. Paul's missions among the Gentiles.

Catholic Epistles.

Finally, the Revelation supplies, in its Epistle to the Seven Churches, a glimpse of the fortunes of Christianity in the Roman province of Asia at the end of the first century;[2] and draws out in its mysterious imagery a picture of the age-

Revelation.

[1] e.g. the incident at Antioch, narrated in Gal. ii. 11 *sqq.*, and some of the hardships enumerated in 2 Cor. xi. 23–7.

[2] Of these Seven Churches Ephesus figures largely in the Acts and Thyatira is incidentally mentioned. Laodicea is named in Col. iv. 15. Of the other four letters, to Smyrna, Philadelphia, Sardis, and Pergamum, the last is specially interesting, because it records the name of a martyr, Antipas, in that centre of emperor-worship (Rev. ii. 13).

long struggle of the Church Militant against the forces of the world, and its consummation in the final triumphs.

That these writings are worthy, and more than worthy, to rank with the Canonical Scriptures of the Old Testament is to us an obvious thing. It needs an effort of imagination on our part to think ourselves back into the period when the Old Testament alone was regarded by the Christian Church as "Scripture." The books of the New Testament vary indeed enormously in their character, purpose, and literary style, and in the degree and value of their contribution to the spiritual treasury of Christendom and of the world. No one could affirm that the Epistle of St. Jude was as rich and valuable as the Epistle to the Hebrews, or give an equal place to St. John's Gospel and his Third Epistle. Yet each contributes something; and together they form a group of writings which has done more to uplift and transform humanity than all other literature put together.

Unique value of N.T. books.

The Gospel portrait of Christ represents, by common consent, the ideal for humanity; and its historical corollary is to be found in that propagation of Christ's life and character of which the initial stages are described in the Acts. Its philosophical and theological implications, and its practical application to everyday life, are drawn out—unsystematically but profoundly—in the Epistles, which display a deep knowledge of human nature and a unique grasp of its spiritual needs. Thus the writings (largely incidental writings) of a small group of men and a single generation sum up and complete—or teach us to see com-

pleted in Christ—that revelation of God's purpose and man's destiny, which the inspired Hebrew literature of untold generations had but dimly outlined. Their utterances, moreover, appeal freshly and vitally to every race of men and to each successive age. The "Prophets" of subsequent literature, whether professed disciples or no, owe to these Scriptures, consciously or unconsciously, much of their inspiration and of their seed-thoughts, if not also their most telling phrases. The vast structure of Christian theology, including some of the noblest monuments of literature, spring from these naïve and simple germs. A Milton and a Dante would be quick to acknowledge their inestimable debt to Holy Scripture, and the immeasurable inferiority, by comparison, of their own creations as instruments of spiritual inspiration.

Their influence on posterity.

Apart from the books of the New Testament Canon, the extant remains of Christian literature of the first century are very scanty. Of the many tentative Gospels, mentioned by St. Luke as already in existence when he wrote his own, no trace remains to us unless it be embodied in the Third Gospel itself. Of the score of apocryphal Gospels of which the titles have come down to us, the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which Eusebius classes among "disputed books,"[1] is the only one which attained anything like general acceptance in the Church; and of that but a few extracts remain, and these of an apparently late and apocryphal character. The Gospel bearing the name of Peter, together

Non-canonical literature.

[1] Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 25.

with the "Preaching" and "Apocalypse of Peter," belong probably to the first half of the second century: but most of the apocryphal Gospels are decidedly later, and do not, in any case, come within the scope of our study.

The *Shepherd of Hermas*, which was at one time attributed to the Hermas mentioned by St. Paul[1] (and is appended, after the *Epistle of Barnabas*, to the New Testament itself in the famous Sinaitic MS.), is now generally admitted, on the authority of the Muratorian Fragment,[2] to be the work of Hermas, brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome, and to date from the middle of the second century (*c.* 140 A.D.). The anonymous *Epistle to Diognetus*, with its magnificent sketch of the life of Christians, in the world yet not of it, is probably to be relegated to the same period (*c.* 130–50 A.D.). There are, in fact, only three extant documents of any importance that can strictly claim to represent the non-canonical literature of the Apostolic Age. The *Didaché*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, may perhaps be dated about 100 A.D., and thus roughly included within our period; the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* between 70 and 98 A.D.; and the *Epistle of Clement*[3] *c.* 95 A.D., probably before the latest book of the New Testament had seen the light. Of these we will speak more at length, but first a word may be permissible on the subject of those who are customarily associated with Clement as "Apostolic Fathers": Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp

Little remains of 1st century.

[1] Rom. xvi. 14.

[2] A fragmentary Canon of the New Testament, dating probably from about 180 A.D. It is given in full in Pullan's *Books of the New Testament*, Appendix C.

[3] Of the two so-called Epistles, the first only is genuine.

of Smyrna, and Papias of Hierapolis, because their writings, though to be dated in the first half of the second century, have a direct bearing on the history of the Apostolic Age. Papias' "Five Books," written probably (*c.* 135) some twenty years or more after the Epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp, are known to us only by the merest fragments, preserved chiefly in Eusebius.[1] Their interest lies in the relation of the writer to the *entourage* of the Apostles. Having been thrown with men who had known the Apostles personally—he names Aristion and John "the Elder," whom he describes as "disciples of the Lord"—Papias made it his business to cross-question them about the sayings of Andrew, Peter, Philip, Thomas, James, John, Matthew, and the rest. He thus supplemented the New Testament narratives by little touches of oral tradition, a few of which, as those about Joseph Barsabbas and Philip and his daughters, are preserved by Eusebius. But the most interesting traditions of his which Eusebius has preserved are those relating the origin of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, which Papias claims to have derived from John the Elder.[2] "Matthew," he says, "composed the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he could."[3]

Apostolic Fathers of 2nd century. Papias.

His account of first two Gospels.

[1] Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39. The whole passage is given *in extenso* (Greek and English) in Gwatkin's *Selections*, No. XIII.

[2] Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 39.

[3] It is not certain whether classical Hebrew or Aramaic is intended. These *logia* or "oracles" are probably not to be identified with the work often named in early writers as the "Gospel according to the Hebrews"; but they very likely constituted the germ of our extant Greek "Gospel according to St. Matthew."

"Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without, however, recording in order what was either said or done by Christ, for neither did he hear the Lord nor did he follow Him, but afterwards, as I said, [attended] Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs [of his hearers], but had no design of giving a connected account of the Lord's oracles. So, then, Mark made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them: for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he heard, or to set down any false statement therein."[1]

Ignatius and Polycarp.

In the writings of Ignatius and Polycarp we have the words of men whose relation to the Apostles is closer still. The tradition that Ignatius was the child carried and blessed by our Lord has no sufficiently early foundation:[2] but it is not inconsistent with the chronology of his life, and the saint was in all probability already Bishop of Antioch during the closing years of the lifetime of St. John. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who was eighty-six years old at his martyrdom in 155, must have been born in 69 A.D., before the destruction of Jerusalem. In his long life, we have the most conspicuous personal link between the Apostles themselves and the period when Christian literature becomes abundant and Church history fortified with a mass of contemporary documents. He was in full manhood during the years of St. John's literary activity; and there is no reason to doubt the state-

[1] Euseb., *loc. cit.*

[2] It is first found in Symeon Metaphrastes early in the tenth century.

ment of Polycarp's own disciple Irenaeus, that his master was a personal disciple of that Apostle.

So it is that St. Ignatius' Seven Letters, written in 110 A.D. on the way to his martyrdom, and St. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians have a peculiar interest for the student of the first century of Christian history. We must content ourselves here with noting a few salient points which they present in common with the Letter of St. Clement, which demands a fuller treatment.

Apostolic Fathers and N.T. Canon.

The writings of all three—Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp—have a direct bearing on the history of the Canon of the New Testament. While they show no signs (as Bishop Lightfoot has observed)[1] of recognising a Canon of the New Testament as a well-defined body of writings, "they assign a special and pre-eminent authority to the Apostles," "distinctly disclaiming," at the same time, "any such exceptional position for themselves."[2]

And though they only quote New Testament Scriptures by name when such mention is, as it were, forced upon them by their subject,[3] and restrict the formula "It is written" to citations from the Old Testament, yet their writings are "thoroughly leavened with Apostolic diction," references to New Testament matter are extremely frequent, and "fragments of most of the canonical Epistles are embedded in the writings of these Fathers." Nor must we fail to

[1] Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers;* Clem. Rom., vol i., pp. 9, 10.

[2] Clem., *Cor.*, 5, 47 (SS. Peter and Paul); Ignatius, *Rom.*, 4 (SS. Peter and Paul); Polycarp, *Phil.*, 3 (St. Paul).

[3] See ref. in Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

notice that, while there are occasional references in the Apostolic Fathers to pre-Christian apocryphal writings, no apocryphal Gospel matter is to be found in them, all the many facts of evangelical history referred to being such as are contained in the four canonical Gospels.

Clement's Epistle.

The Clement who wrote the Epistle was probably a Jewish freedman of the famous T. Flavius Clemens, Domitian's cousin and colleague in the consulship, who, with his wife Domitilla, was tried for "atheism" in 95 A.D. and put to death.[1] Our Clement succeeded Anencletus as bishop of Rome, and ruled the Church in that city during the closing decade of the first century. His letter is written in the name of "the Church of God sojourning in Rome" to that "sojourning in Corinth." Its main purpose is an exhortation against that outbreak of undiscipline and dissension which we know to have troubled the Church in question about the year 95 A.D.[2]

The writer addresses the Church as an "ancient and stable Church"—it had been in existence, when he wrote, some forty years or more—and refers explicitly to that "Epistle of Blessed Paul the Apostle,"[3] written a generation ago, in which the same factious tendencies had been rebuked. The letter also paraphrases St. Paul's sublime teaching on Charity, given in the thirteenth chapter of that Epistle, and is remarkable for its liberal use of the Old Testament Scriptures, cited both for example and for precept. Those Scriptures

[1] Dio Cassius, *Hist.*, lxvii. 14. See above, ch. xi., p. 206.
[2] Hegesippus, cited by Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 16; cf. iv. 22.
[3] Clem., *Cor.*, v.

are quoted from the Greek (Septuagint) version, and a passage from the Book of Judith is among those adduced. It is clear that both readers and writer valued highly the Old Testament writings and held them as oracles "inspired of God." The New Testament, as we have already observed, is not yet treated as "Scripture"; but, apart from the quotation of our Lord's words from the *Gospels* and from the *Acts*, there is an undoubted use in this letter of many of the New Testament *Epistles*—including *1 Peter*[1]—and notably of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.[2] And Bishop Lightfoot has noted that just as Clement co-ordinates St. Peter and St. Paul as Apostles, so too he co-ordinates in his own teaching the characteristic doctrines of St. Paul and St. James.[3]

The interest of this Letter is manifold. Its high tone and moral earnestness approach most nearly, perhaps, to those of the New Testament itself. Striking, too, are its appeals to the example of gentleness of God and the order and obedience of His creation as shown in Nature:[4] its profound doctrine of the Atonement, as "the Blood of Christ winning for the world the grace of penitence":[5] its historical references, both to the horrors of the persecution under Domitian, which had only just come to an end,[6] and to the labours and martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul:[7] its bearing on the development of the Christian ministry—reflecting a time

Its manifold interest.

[1] See, e.g., Clem., *Cor.*, xxxii., xxxiv., xxxv., xxxvii., xlix. (1 Peter iv. 8).

[2] It is thrice referred to in Clem., xxxvi.

[3] Clem., vol. i., p. 96.

[4] Clem., *Cor.*, xx.

[5] *Ibid.*, vii.

[6] *Ibid.*, i.

[7] *Ibid.*, v.

when presbyters are still called "bishops," though subject, apparently, to the supreme authority of the surviving Apostles and their appointed successors, and when (in view of Corinthian disorders) the honour and obedience due to the presbytery are strongly enforced.[1] And beyond this there are the personal references with which the Epistle closes; the mention of the three bearers of the Letter—Claudius Ephebus, Valerius Bito, and Fortunatus, "men faithful and prudent, who have lived blamelessly among us from youth to old age":[2] Fortunatus possibly identical with that younger member of the "house of Stephanas" named in St. Paul's Epistle,[3] Claudius and Valerius almost certainly freedmen of the Emperor Claudius, and so, perhaps, among "those of Caesar's household" who sent greetings to Philippi by the Apostle some thirty-five or forty years before.[4]

The two remaining works which we shall have to treat in this chapter—the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Didachê*—have none of the literary quality or of the absorbing personal interest that marks the *Epistle of Clement*. They are both didactic works of a strongly Judaistic character, and both alike make use of a traditional method of ethical teaching founded on the distinction between "Two Ways"—the way of Light and the way of Darkness. It has been suggested, indeed, that each may represent a different working-up of a Jewish manual for proselytes.

The *Epistle of Barnabas*, of which the oldest manu-

[1] Clem., *Cor.*, xlii.-xliv. [2] *Ibid.*, lxv. [3] 1 Cor. xvi. 15.

[4] So Lightfoot, from extant inscriptions of the freedmen of Claudius (whose wife Messalina was a "Valeria"). See his *Clement*, vol. i., pp. 29, 62; vol. ii., p. 187.

script is the fourth-century codex known as ℵ (*Aleph*), where, together with the *Shepherd of Hermas*, it is appended to the New Testament, may be dated somewhere between 70 and 98 A.D., and probably early in that period. It alludes[1] to the destruction of the Temple—apparently as a recent occurrence—and was most probably[2] (though not quite certainly) written in the reign of Vespasian (70–9 A.D.). Its writer (clearly not the Barnabas of history), though saturated with Hebraism, holds a brief against the Jews of the Old Covenant. His purpose is, apparently, to warn his correspondents against a lapse into Judaism, which is, for him, the "Way of Darkness." In language which is strongly allegorical, but the gist of which is clear, he takes pains to prove that in the Christian religion is to be found the inner meaning of the Old Covenant, that *spirit* of the Old Testament for desertion of which, in favour of the *letter*, the Prophets of old had constantly rebuked the people. But he does not stop there; he goes on to maintain that the Jews had never really had a covenant. Their claim to it had been forfeited when Moses broke the Tables.[3] For the writer of this Epistle, circumcision is a rite as much heathen as divine; and Pharisaic Judaism is the "Way of Darkness," along which lost souls are guided to destruction by evil angels.

Epistle of Barnabas.

The Epistle cannot for a moment claim comparison with the canonical Epistle to the *Hebrews*, which draws out with matchless beauty and sublimity the relation and the contrast between the Old Covenant

[1] Cf. ch. xvi. [2] Ch. iv.
[3] Ex. xxxii. 19; Barn., ch. iv.

and the New. Indeed, an attempted comparison of the two affords the most convincing practical justification of the Church's eventual action in including the one and excluding the other when she formed her canon of the New Testament.

Didachê.

Of the *Didachê* the like may be said. Like *Barnabas* it represents a backwater in the development of Christian thought, lying outside the main current of the literature. *Barnabas* has a slight historical importance, because it shows us a glimpse of the hand-to-hand conflict between Judaistic Christianity and Pharisaic Judaism shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. The *Didachê* gives us a glimpse of Palestinian life some few years later. Its importance from the historical point of view is greater, because it supplies various details of primitive Church order, though of a distinctly local form, representing, it is generally thought, the practice of the Jewish-Christian churches settled in Peraea, beyond Jordan, about the year 100 A.D. To some of these details we have already had occasion to refer in treating of the Church's inner life.

From another point of view its importance is equally great, as testimony, that is, in a general way, to the early date of our Gospel tradition, to which it offers at least twenty-two distinct coincidences, though never by way of definite quotation.

The *Didachê*, discovered by Bryennius[1] in a volume which also contains the Epistle of Clement,[2] and first

[1] The MS. probably does not represent exactly the original form of the document.

[2] Of the two so-called Epistles of Clement to the Corinthians, the first only is genuine.

published by him in 1883, consists of two parts. The first, the "Two Ways,"[1] is a series of moral instructions, in which our Lord's Sermon on the Mount is largely used; the second, dealing with Church ritual and discipline, is for our purposes more important. It contains interesting teaching on baptism, on fasting and prayer, and on the Eucharist—its formulae of blessing and its "Lord's Day observance"—on the status of teachers, and on the orders of "bishops and deacons."[2] We have already noticed elsewhere the injunctions that baptism is to be performed "in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," and that baptizer and baptized are recommended to fast beforehand.

Structure of the Didachê.

Of the Sunday Eucharist it is said: "On the Lord's own day gather yourselves together and break bread and give thanks, first confessing your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure. And let no man, having his dispute with his fellow, join your assembly until they have been reconciled, that your sacrifice may not be defiled: for this sacrifice it is that was spoken of by the Lord: in every place and at every time offer Me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My Name is wonderful among the nations."[3]

Its Eucharistic teaching.

The formulae of blessing given in an earlier chapter of the treatise are very Jewish in character, but offer

[1] In this Barnabas and the *Didachê* seem to have borrowed independently from some earlier Jewish document, perhaps a manual for the admission of proselytes.

[2] Baptism, ch. vii.; fasting and prayer, viii.; Eucharist, ix., x., xiv.; teachers, xi.–xiii.; "bishops and deacons," xv.

[3] cf. Mal. i. 11.

some beautiful teaching on the Eucharist as a sacrament of unity. "We give thanks to Thee" (the celebrant is instructed to say), "O our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou didst make known to us through Thy Son Jesus; Thine is the glory for ever and ever. As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so may Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom. . . ."

The *Didaché* is dated, with much probability, at the point where the first and second centuries meet. After a few decades, Christian literature, scanty enough for the period immediately succeeding that of the New Testament, becomes again voluminous, and increases in volume down the ages. But no age has matched, or ever will match, that group of writings which the Church in her wisdom saw fit to lift to a place hardly contemplated by the inspired writers themselves, enthroning them side by side with the sacred oracles of the Old Covenant.

CHAPTER XVI

THE HERETICS OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE

IN an age like our own, when tolerance is reckoned supreme among the virtues of a theologian, and dogma is at a discount, some of the sayings of the Apostles are apt to appear overemphatic, finding little or no response in the modern conscience. But if the reason be in part because there is no "deep" in the average present-day convictions to "answer to" the deep of the inspired writers, something also must be conceded to the strangeness of an ancient and alien tongue, and to the difference of the times.

Apostolic attitude to heresy.

Unpopular with the modern mind.

The fiery utterances of the Epistle of St. Jude and the second of St. Peter, like those of the Revelation, are couched in a form essentially Hebrew, and retain something of the colour of that Jewish apocalyptic literature in which their writers' minds were steeped.[1] But the plain and forcible phrases in which St. Paul's and St. John's Epistles denounce the false teachers of their day, are essentially human in their straightforwardness; and, if we fail to appreciate the justice of such language, it is largely because we fail to realise the importance of the issues involved.

That a system of teaching which, despite the mani-

[1] Cf. above, ch. xv., p. 275.

fold shortcomings of its exponents and professors, has brought so unique a blessing to the human race, should have been strangled at its birth, would have been — apart from the consideration of its deepest aspects—a calamity unparalleled in the world's history. Those who, after the paradoxical fashon of these days, are wont to compassionate dead heresies as representing systems of thought which have never had a fair chance, might well pause to consider what would have been the effect of human progress if Cerinthus had supplanted St. John and Simon Magus St. Peter; if the fantastic speculations of some of the various Gnostic sects had prevailed over Catholic Christianity —substituting a creed which, apart from its grave moral defects and its appeal to a strictly limited intellectual circle, would most certainly have become obsolete in the course of a few generations. Such a consideration, if it fail to kindle a conviction of a divine guidance of the Church in the sense posited by the New Testament itself,[1] may yet issue in the comforting inference that religious, like material, evolution is, on certain lines at any rate, subject to a law of the "survival of the fittest." Nor will such an attitude fail to place us in closer sympathy with St. John, when he speaks of the denial of the Incarnation as "the spirit of the Antichrist"[2]—of him who denies the Messiahship of Jesus as a liar,[3] a deceiver and an Antichrist to whom hospitable patronage should be refused by the faithful[4]—when he hotly

Justified by importance of the issues.

Religious survival of the fittest.

St. John's denunciation.

[1] See especially the reiterated promise in John xiv.–xvi.

[2] 1 John iv. 3. [3] 1 John ii. 22. [4] 2 John 7–11.

denounces the conduct of Diotrephes[1]—when he reiterates the divine hatred of the Nicolaitans,[2] and calls the false, blaspheming Jews at Smyrna and Philadelphia "the synagogue of Satan,"[3] and brands the heretical "prophetess" of Thyatira as an impure and idolatrous Jezebel.[4] It will enable us to enter into the mind of St. Paul when he speaks of Satan transformed into an angel of light[5]—of a gospel that is no gospel, by which the Galatians have been bewitched,[6] suggesting that the Apostles of enforced circumcision might just as well go further and mutilate themselves like the priests of Cybele[7]—when he warns Timothy against "seducing spirits," "doctrines of devils," hypocritical liars "branded in their conscience as with a hot iron"[8]—or again, when he alludes more contemptuously to vain talkers, would-be expounders of the law who do not even understand what they profess to teach[9]—to "science falsely so called," to "profane babblings,"[10] to "foolish questionings and genealogies and strifes"[11]—or when, finally, coming to practice, he reiterates St. John's counsel to avoid intercourse with obdurate heretics.[12] And we shall remember how the inspiring love-message of their gentle Master and Pattern as recorded in the Gospels was not without its sterner side of hot denunciation and terrible warning.[13]

St. Paul's denunciation.

Paralleled in the Gospels.

But no perverse teaching, however fantastic in its

[1] 3 John 9. [2] Rev. ii. 6 and 15. [3] Rev. ii. 9; iii. 9.
[4] Rev. ii. 20 *sqq.* [5] 2 Cor. xi. 14. [6] Gal. i. 6, 7; iii. 1.
[7] Gal. v. 12. [8] 1 Tim. iv. 1–3. [9] 1 Tim. i. 7.
[10] 1 Tim. vi. 20. [11] Titus iii. 9. [12] Titus. iii. 10, 11.
[13] See, e.g., Matt. v. 20, 22, 29, 30, x. 34 *sqq.*, xi. 20–4, xii. 36, 37, xxii. 13, xxiii. 1–36; Mark ix. 42–8, etc.

mode of self-expression or ridiculous in its logical outcome, has ever been without some spark of reason and some intellectual point of contact with the serious thought of the age of its birth.

Germ of truth in heretical teaching.

If we are to appreciate such movements in a scientific way, we must try at least to abstract them as far as possible from the atmosphere of controversy. St. Irenaeus' picture of Gnosticism is certainly not at all sympathetic nor of a kind to be incorporated, as it stands, in an impartial and balanced record of the history of speculation. If it were, it would fail of its purpose: the writer was concerned, for the deepest moral and spiritual ends, to hold up to ridicule its radical defects. Similarly the inspired writers of the New Testament are not concerned to give a full and dispassionate account of the heresies which they denounce; even the cardinal doctrines of the faith only receive—in the Epistles, at any rate—incidental treatment. But with the help of their controversial allusions and those of later writers like Ignatius, Justin Martyr, and Irenaeus, we may attempt to piece together, with some probability, among much that still remains vague, a sketch of the first heretical tendencies with which the Church had to contend.

In endeavouring to trace out the heresies of New Testament times, it is important to bear in mind the fact that, at the period when St. Paul's Epistles (and probably most of the other Epistles) were written, the canonical Gospels had not yet appeared. Christian converts were dependent for their knowledge of the Master's doctrine and life on the oral teaching of Apostles and Evan-

Oral tradition.

gelists: a body of teaching which soon became more or less stereotyped, no doubt, and offered a "form" or "pattern of sound words" by which doubtful doctrines might be tested.[1] Still, there was the absence of definite documents to which a ready appeal might be made.

Incidental character of Christ's teaching.

Further, we must not forget that the teaching of Christ (as afterwards recorded in the Gospels) had itself been of an incidental and, so to speak, unsystematic character. His favourite parabolic method lent itself to this; and, indeed, His person and life, His acts, His sufferings and His triumph over death, were to teach far more than His actual words. It is true that His doctrine is focussed and, in a sense, summarised in the Sermon on the Mount, where He draws out against the background of the Mosaic law leading principles of character and conduct for the guidance of the citizens of His new Kingdom. But even here there is no attempt at a rounded system, although those chapters of St. Matthew do contain—as, for instance, in their implications of the utterer's Divine claims[2]—far more than many of its critics have been willing to allow. On some points—religious, social, and moral—clear and unmistakable teaching had been given,[3] even to the point of concrete precept: on others, especially in the regions of eschatology, the pregnant utterances of the Master had been swathed in mystery, so that their meaning only gradually unfolded itself in

[1] 2 Tim. i. 13, *ὑποτύπωσις ὑγιαινόντων λόγων*; cf. Rom. vi. 17; Titus i. 9; ii. 1, 2.

[2] Cf. the reiterated "It was said . . . but I say," Matt. v. 21, 27, 33, 38, 43; also v. 17 *sqq.*

[3] Matt. v. 21 *sqq.*; vi. 3, 6, 9, 17, etc.

the course of years.[1] Now and again, in parable or discourse, He lifts the veil for an instant and flashes light upon the unseen world—the angel-world,[2] the age to come,[3] the future state[4]—but it is only for an instant. There are things which even the Gospel must keep secret.[5] As to the actual moment of His Second Advent, the Lord had observed a marked and deliberate silence.[6]

It is just on this and kindred subjects that the speculative imagination of the earliest Christian converts seems to have fixed itself. The belief in the imminence of the Second Advent was, as we have seen, general in the first age, and was probably responsible for the very tentative character of the ministerial organisation and of other institutions of the primitive Church.[7]

But the earliest of St. Paul's extant Epistles—those written in A.D. 51 to the Thessalonians—give us a picture of speculations on that subject, and on the Last Things in general which bear in themselves the germs at once of antinomian conduct and of heretical belief.

Germs of heresy at Thessalonica.

The eschatological curiosity of the Thessalonians, which resulted immediately in disorderly conduct, idleness, and impatience of authority, shows us also the germ of the spirit which developed into heresy. In the Epistle to the *Colossians*, written nine years later, there is shadowed forth an elaborate and developed system

[1] Especially Matt. xxiv. 3 *sqq.*
[2] Matt. xiii. 39; xvi. 27; xviii. 10; xxii. 30; xxvi. 53, etc.
[3] In many of the "Parables of the Kingdom."
[4] Luke xvi. 22 *sqq.*; Matt. xxii. 30.
[5] Matt. xx. 23; Luke xiii. 23 *sqq.*
[6] Matt. xxiv. 30, 42; xxv. 13; Mark xiii. 32, etc.
[7] See above, ch. xiii, p. 242.

of false teaching which bears marked features of resemblance to later philosophic Gnosticism. The heresies denounced still later in the Pastoral Epistles, associated with the names of Hymenaeus, Philetus, and Alexander[1] may perhaps be regarded as a link between the Colossian heresy and the developed Gnosticism of Hadrian's reign.[2]

The errors which St. Paul found rampant in the valley of the Lycus—at Colossae, Laodicea, and Hierapolis—in 61 A.D., if not so purely Judaistic as those against which he had warned his converts in Galatia, are obviously of an origin Jewish in the main[3] The festal and sabbatical observances,[4] to which an exaggerated value was attached, are clearly derived from this source, as also may be, in part, at any rate, the false asceticism—"touch not, taste not, handle not"[5]—and the direction of speculation towards angelic existences.[6] But this latter certainly reached a point which no true Jew would have approached, in actual angel-worship; while the ascetic tenets, like the cult of angels, suggest a closer kinship with superstitions of the further East.

The Colossian heresy.

St. Paul's use of the words *aeon*[7] and *pleroma*[8] in the Epistle have been thought (but the theory is open to discussion) to imply in his opponents a still nearer affinity to the later Gnostics, in whose mouths these words became technical terms. A similar argument has been drawn from the phrase "depths" of Satan in the Apocalypse.[9]

[1] 2 Tim. ii. 17; 1 Tim. i. 20 and (?) 2 Tim iv. 14.
[2] Duchesne, *op. cit.*, ch. vi., pp. 70 *sqq.*
[3] See above, ch. viii., p. 152. [4] Col. ii. 16. [5] Col. ii. 21.
[6] Col. ii. 18. [7] Col. i. 26. [8] Col. i. 19; ii. 9. [9] Rev. ii. 24.

The central fault of the Colossian system, if system it may be called, seems to have been a displacing of the theological centre of gravity. A superstitious and disproportionate interest in angelology, in "times and seasons," and in the problem of evil falsely identified with matter, led to a corresponding diminution of interest in the central truths of the Christian revelation and a practical dethroning of Christ Himself.

Its central error.

And so it is that the necessity of combating these errors leads St. Paul to insist on the absolute supremacy of Christ, and to proclaim Him the central and explanatory fact of the universe, and its principle at once of existence and of cohesion.[1]

Combated by St. Paul.

Similar characteristics are to be found in the heresies denounced in the Pastoral Epistles;[2] but here, as in the Epistle of St. Jude and the second ascribed to St. Peter (probably the latest of New Testament writings), and in the Apocalypse, the lascivious and immoral tendencies of the heretical teachings are more fully developed.[3] These details, it is true, are difficult to classify. The "profane babblings" of Hymenaeus and Philetus, who say "that the resurrection is already past,"[4] are parts, no doubt, of a fantastic scheme of which little can now be discerned. But in this group, as in the Colossian heresy, there is the same Judaistic strain, as is evident from St. Paul's "Jewish fables"[5] and self-styled "teachers of the Law,"[6] as also from the

Heresies of Pastoral Epistles.

[1] Col. i. 13–20.
[2] e.g. 1 Tim. i. 3 *sqq.*; iv. 3, etc.
[3] 2 Peter ii. 2, 10, 13, 14; Jude 4, 8, 13; Rev. ii. 14, 15, 20–2.
[4] 2 Tim. ii. 16–18.
[5] Titus i. 14.
[6] 1 Tim. i. 7.

men who "say they are Jews and they are not" of the Apocalypse.[1]

The "endless genealogies"[2] bring us nearer to that Gnostic form of speculation, which endeavours to bridge the gulf between God and the world by positing an interminable chain of intermediate existences. The prohibition of marriage and of certain foods,[3] like the ascetic teaching of the Colossian heretics, connects itself with another familiar Gnostic trait, the confusion of evil with matter—a tenet which was often combined in practice with the most abandoned licentiousness. And it is noticeable that the word *Gnosis* itself is used in a quasi-technical sense, where, at the end of the First Epistle to Timothy St. Paul couples "profane babblings" with "oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called."[4]

Gnostic features.

Another favourite tenet of the Gnostics is hinted at in St. John's First Epistle—that *Docetism* or "Appearance-Doctrine" which could not endure the thought of such close association of the Godhead with matter as the Incarnation involved, and resolved this intimate communion of heaven with earth into a succession of mere "appearances."

A trustworthy tradition names St. John's opponent as Cerinthus, one of the few definite names which we can connect with the principal heresies of Apostolic times.

Cerinthus.

Cerinthus, who was certainly a contemporary of St. John and lived in Asia Minor, where the Apostle ended his days, taught that Jesus was the son of

[1] Rev. ii. 9. [2] 1 Tim. i. 4. [3] 1 Tim. iv. 3.
[4] 1 Tim. vi. 20 : ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως.

Mary and Joseph, a mere man, on whom the Spirit, "Christ," descended at his baptism, and left him before the crucifixion, so that "Jesus" suffered and "Christ" did not.[1] Against this false teaching, the Apostle of the "Word made Flesh" lifts up his voice in the First Epistle, and brands it as the lie of lies.[2]

The spirit of the Son of Thunder, which flashes out now and again in all three Epistles, breathes also in the well-known story which Irenaeus told as emanating from St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, and Eusebius told and retold with evident relish. St. John, says the story, once entered a bath intending to bathe: but, learning that Cerinthus was within, he sprang up and rushed out of the door, for he could not bear to remain under the same roof with him. And he counselled those that were with him to do the same, saying, "Let us depart: the bath might fall down, because the enemy of the truth is within."[3]

Simon Magus.

The next heresiarch to be mentioned is one whose name occurs in the *Acts*, but only in connexion with a single incident: his subsequent career is treated of only in later legend and tradition. Simon the Magian, converted and baptized by Philip the Evangelist at Samaria,[4] whose unworthy desire to purchase the Apostolic prerogative[5] has attached his name for ever to the sin of simony, was known to the Samaritans, whom he had "bewitched" before Philip's coming, as the "great power of God."[6] He appears, after the somewhat facile re-

[1] See Pullan, *Church of the Fathers*, in this series, p. 48.
[2] 1 John ii. 22, cf. iv. 3.
[3] Iren., *Haer.*, iii. 3, 4, quoted by Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 28 and iv. 14.
[4] Acts viii. 9–13. [5] Acts viii. 18 *sqq.* [6] Acts viii. 10.

pentance with which he responded to St. Peter's denunciation, to have revived his opposition to the Christian teachers, and, mingling a superficial colouring of Christian doctrine with his former fables, to have constructed a system in which he and his female companion Helena (transformed by Gnostic magic into "Ennoia," God's primal creative idea!) figured as the incarnation of the male and female divine principle. The system, in which the point just mentioned is derived from Phoenician paganism, is described by Irenaeus[1] in terms which suggest a medley of Persian, Syrian, and Hellenic ideas on a Biblical background: an instance of the way in which that tendency to religious syncretism which marked the first century of our era, while in many ways it prepared the soil for the Gospel seed, favoured also the growth of the "tares."[2]

The reverence paid to Simon's memory by the Samaritans a century later is testified by Justin Martyr,[3] himself a native of Sichem in Samaria; and though he seems to have fallen into an error about a statue erected, as he supposed, to Simon's memory, in Rome—misreading *Semoni Sanco Deo* as *Simoni Deo Sancto*[4]—he may be trusted on his own Samaritan ground. And his account of Simon's teaching is not inconsistent either with the Acts or with Irenaeus.[5] The fables known as the *Clementine Recognitions* are full of further encounters between St. Peter and Simon, ending with a supreme contest in the Forum

[1] Iren., *Haer.*, i. 23. [2] Cf. above, chap. i., p. 31.

[3] Apol., i. 26; Euseb., *H.E.*, ii. 13.

[4] In 1574 a statue was discovered in the place described by Justin inscribed with the name, not of Simon, but of the Sabine divinity *Semo Sancus*.

[5] Cf. Duchesne, *loc. cit.*

at Rome,[1] in which the heresiarch, attempting to fly as a proof of the truth of his teaching, falls to the earth and is killed.

One other name calls for mention among the heresiarchs of the first age—the name of him who is responsible for the sect of the Nicolaitans, branded in the Apocalypse as "hated of Christ."[2]

The Nicolaitans.

Some Nicolaus it must have been; and Clement of Alexandria[3] and Irenaeus[4] identify him, rightly or wrongly, with the proselyte of Antioch, whose name completes the list of the Seven.[5] The identification is precarious; and, even if admitted, does not necessarily brand the name of St. Stephen's colleague. Indeed, Clement implies that the lascivious practices of the sect were based on a wilful perversion of a somewhat crude saying of Nicolaus, who was himself a man of pure and even austere life.[6]

The Apocalypse speaks of his teaching as existent both at Ephesus and at Pergamus. In the former city, apparently, the Nicolaitans were not in favour:[7] but in the latter they seem to have gained some hold.[8] As to their intellectual tenets, the sacred writer is silent: the only practices he names are the eating of idol-meats, and deliberate and systematic unchastity,[9] features which suggest a close association of these degraded brethren with the orgies of their pagan neighbours.

Hippolytus,[10] writing at the opening of the third

[1] See also Euseb., ii. 14, 15. [2] Rev. ii. 6.
[3] Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. 4.
[4] Iren., *Haer.*, i. 26, 3. [5] Acts vi. 5.
[6] Clem. Alex., *loc. cit.*, and Euseb., *H. E.*, iii. 29.
[7] Rev. ii. 6. [8] Rev. ii. 15. [9] Rev. ii. 14, 15. [10] vii. 24.

century, and referring to a tenet which, if true, may be a later development in the same school, attributes to the Nicolaitans the belief of the Ophites, who worshipped the Serpent of Genesis as representing the true principle of Divine revelation in the Old Testament, in opposition to the tyrannical Demiurge or Creator, who is distinguished from the Most High God.

Ebionism.

Of Ebionism we have already spoken in connexion with the story of the Church of the Circumcision.[1] *Ebionim* in Hebrew means "the poor ones," and was probably at first a nickname or surname applied to the "Nazarenes" in Judaea by their unconverted countrymen. Their voluntary renunciation of wealth in the first days, or their aspiration to be "poor in the spirit,"[2] or, indeed, the actual and literal poverty of the rank and file of them, reflected alike in the Acts and in the writings of St. James and St. Paul,[3] may have given occasion to the name in the first instance. But the name clung to Judaistic Christianity after its significance had been forgotten and in regions where its meaning was unknown. When the faith had spread widely among the Gentiles "Ebionite" became their recognised name for a Jewish Christian. An imaginary heresiarch "Ebion" was later invented to account for the word, while among the more learned controversialists it was interpreted as referring to the "poverty" of their Christological teaching. Of the defective nature of their theological beliefs there can be no doubt. Alike in their humanitarian views

[1] See above, ch. iv., p. 94 *sq.*

[2] Cf. Matt. v. 3.

[3] e g. Acts vi. 1, xi. 29, xxiv. 17 ; 1 Cor. xvi. 1 ; 2 Cor. viii. 1 *sqq.* ; Gal. ii. 10 ; James ii. 5, 6, v. 4.

about the person of Christ, and in their conviction of the essential character of the ordinance of circumcision, they prepared the way for that Mohammedan doctrine which was eventually to absorb them.[1]

Contrasted teaching of the Church.

The Christianity which survived was of a very different stamp. With the austere temper and traditionalist instincts of the Ebionites, shown in moral strictness of life, and in a readiness to "contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered to the saints,"[2] it combined complementary characteristics—a naïve and (as it were) instinctive exaltation of Christ and of the Holy Spirit to the highest place, which proved in the end to be soundest philosophy: an elasticity, a power of self-adaptation, and a universality of appeal, in contrast to the jealous rigidity of Judaism, which has vindicated its claim to be the religion for all mankind. As against the Gnostic tendencies, with their endless intermediaries, their attribution of evil to matter, their false asceticism, and their lascivious practices, it proclaimed a God Who has in very deed "tabernacled among us," the "Word made flesh,"[3] Who is the true and only ladder between heaven and earth;[4] it taught an asceticism that is consistent with a thankful use of all God's natural gifts,[5] and a pure, chaste, and sound morality based on the most awful but most inspiring sanction: "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost?"[6]

[1] See above, ch. iv., p. 95. [2] Jude 3. [3] John i 14.
[4] John i. 51. [5] 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5. [6] 1 Cor. vi. 19.

CHAPTER XVII

SUMMARY AND RETROSPECT

WE have watched the progress of the Christian Church from her Baptism of Fire on the Day of Pentecost to the day when there was (it may be) but one old man still living who could say, in the most intimate sense, of the Word Incarnate "I heard, I saw with my eyes, my hands handled."[1]

External progress of Apostolic Church.

The Church at the close of St. John's life must have been a marvellous spectacle to one who had witnessed its tiny beginnings. The grain of mustard-seed had indeed grown up and put forth great branches, and could now afford lodgement and shelter for all the birds of heaven.[2]

We have watched the process of this growth, and seen the Church's influence spreading in ever-widening circles from Jerusalem to Samaria—to Caesarea—to Antioch—to Ephesus—to Rome.[3] We have watched also the development of her institutions, from the embryonic stage, with gradual specialisation of organs and functions and progressive hardening or ossification of the skeleton of her system, till the primitive Apostolic nucleus, including in itself leadership, executive, and administration, has finally given place (by a process of evolution in which but few of the stages are clearly

Internal development.

[1] 1 John i. 1. [2] Mark iv. 30 *sqq.* [3] Ch. iii.–xi.

marked) to a form of government resembling in all essentials the settled threefold ministry of the second and following centuries.[1]

Lacunae in our information.

We have had to deplore many serious gaps in our knowledge. We possess no contemporary chronicle, strictly so-called, of the first century of the Church's life; no half-mechanical contribution of undigested facts grouped simply in chronological order, such as the historian of the Middle Ages has at his disposal—a mass of material often valuable out of all proportion to the intelligence employed in its original selection and compilation. For good and for ill St. Luke is no mere annalist, but a true historian; the facts he selects are all relative to his purpose, and of the important ones which he omits, but few are furnished by the Epistles and the Apocalypse—few, that is, in comparison with the vast tracts of the history of which no contemporary record remains.

Of the Twelve—to take a single instance—who must have played a leading part in the evangelisation of the world, we have trustworthy details about St. Peter alone, and even he disappears from view as soon as he passes beyond the limits of Palestine.

Fullness of information on many points.

Yet with all the gaps we have to deplore, it is surprising how full our knowledge is, in certain ways. The number of individual Christians of the first generation whom we know by name is itself astonishing. Apart from the Twelve, the holy women and the Seven, besides unnamed acquaintances like the Philippian jailer and his family and Queen Candace's eunuch,

[1] Ch. xiii., xiv.

some forty names are given us in the Acts, whose author now and again (as in the case of Dorcas, Cornelius, Lydia, Prisca) strikes off a miniature cameo-portrait in half a dozen words. The Pauline and Johannine writings furnish some sixty-four additional names, besides illustrating further not a few of those mentioned in the Acts. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians supplies three more, besides his own; and non-Christian writers, backed by archaeological evidence, seem to add Clement the Consul, Domitilla, and possibly Glabrio and Pomponia Graecina.[1] Thus, without including any of the bishops and other persons mentioned by St. Ignatius some ten years later (some of whom may well have been in office already ere the end of the first century), and without drawing upon legendary matter such as the apocryphal Acts of the various Apostles, we may claim to know something of nearly a hundred and thirty professing Christians of the Apostolic Age.

130 individual Christians named.

Nor is it the names alone of these, our spiritual forefathers, that are known to us. Much indeed may be deduced, now and again, from the mere grouping of such names in an Apostolic greeting, as we saw in the case of the Roman Church.[2] But there are various aspects of their life of which we can piece together a fairly vivid picture. St. Luke's own pictures, too, have all the representation and typical force of the works of a great master. Though he probably never wielded painter's brush or pencil, legend was not far astray in attributing to him the artist's skill. And he who painted the real wonder-working picture, the genuine "Madonna di S.

Graphic and typical scenes.

[1] Cf. above, p. 206. [2] p. 199.

Luca," in the first chapter of his Gospel, has left us in the second chapter of his later narrative a masterly sketch of primitive Church life which, though marked, as we have seen, by certain features not destined to be permanent,[1] is in another sense truly representative. Wherever the Church was planted, even in the regions outside the purview of St. Luke's narrative, we may take it for granted that the same spirit of fraternal love and joy outbroke, and the same adherence was maintained to "the Apostles' teaching and fellowship" and "the Breaking of Bread and the prayers."[2]

Primitive Church life.

Similarly typical, no doubt, are the graphic pictures of St. Paul's missionary adventures, with their individual touches and their recurring features. The twofold force of the Gospel message, a savour of life unto life or of death unto death,[3] reacted correspondingly upon the preacher's fortunes, winning for him that alternation of triumph and defeat, warm welcome and cold rejection often issuing in bitter persecution, which is painted in the later scenes of the Acts and vividly reflected in St. Paul's Epistles.[4] And the same story was repeated, no doubt in all essentials, in those unrecorded (or all too late recorded) missionary journeys of a St. Matthew, a St. Andrew, a St. Bartholomew.

Missionary adventures.

The welcome of the returning missionaries by the Church at Caesarea, and their lingering farewell—perhaps the most touching of all St. Luke's tender sketches—reads like a page from the biography of some modern missionary bishop taking leave of his converts on a South-sea island shore. As

A touching farewell.

[1] See above ch. ii. and xiv.

[2] Acts ii. 42.

[3] 2 Cor iii. 16; cf. 1 Cor. i. 18 *sqq.*

[4] Esp. in 2 Cor., *passim.*

they kneel together in prayer upon the beach, men, women, and children grouped round the central Apostolic figure, we know the chasm of centuries bridged over by the continuum of the Christian spirit. So too is it with the midnight Eucharist in the upper room at Troas, and with many another scene. Not only do they stand for numerous like scenes in the First Age; they also bring us into far closer touch with the Christianity of Apostolic days than the slightness of the author's treatment would seem to warrant.

Celebration at Troas.

Other vivid touches, gathered from the various books of the New Testament, we have endeavoured to put together in our sketch of the Church's attitude towards the world, and of her inner life and constitution.[1] Outside the New Testament, the last decade of the century lives again for us in a few graphic phrases dropped by St. Clement, written while the storm-clouds of Domitian's fury still darkened the sky;[2] while a charming contrast is furnished by the later yet not untrustworthy traditions about St. John's last days. The beautiful story of the old man's pursuit and reclamation of a young convert who had taken up the life of a robber-chief:[3] the delightfully human tradition—so often paralleled in the lives of later saints—which makes the aged Apostle divert his leisure moments in sporting with a tame partridge:[4] the convincingly natural picture drawn by St. Jerome of the last of the Twelve, old, feeble, and almost speechless, carried into church to

Material for the history of the last decade.

Traditions about St John.

[1] See ch. xii.–xiv.

[2] Esp. Clem., *Cor.*, i.

[3] Clem., Alex., *Quis. Div. Salv.*, ch. 42.

[4] Cassian, *Coll.*, xxiv. 21.

reiterate constantly the often-repeated but ever-memorable precept: "Little children, love one another."[1]

Scarcity of first-rate evidence.

But for those days it must be confessed that, in general, first-rate evidence of any quantity and importance is lacking. We do not know for certain even the year of St. John's death: only that he lived on beyond the accession of Trajan.

The Apostolic Age stands, in a sense, by itself, cut off from the rest of Christian history by a moment of literary silence such as has rarely, if ever, occurred since. The significance of this fact did not fail to impress our own learned biographers of St. Paul: they figure it as a divinely built Wall of Separation.

The "Wall of Separation."

"The wall of separation which for ever cuts off the Apostolic Age from that which followed it, was built by the hand of God. That age of miracles was not to be revealed for us as passing by any gradual transition into the common life of the Church; it was intentionally isolated from all succeeding time, that we might learn to appreciate more fully its extraordinary character, and see, by the sharpness of the abruptest contrast, the difference between the human and the divine."[2]

Our study of the "Church of the Apostles" will have enabled us to realise the truth underlying that statement, and its need of very considerable modification. The Lord's promise was that He would be with His followers "all the days,"[3] and would guide them by His Holy Spirit "into all truth."[4] The Divine has been con-

The Church's life continuous.

[1] Jerome, *Com. in Gal.*, vi. 10.

[2] Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ch. xxvii., *sub init.*

[3] Matt. xxviii. 20. [4] John xvi. 13.

tinuously present, side by side with the Human. The latter has borne too large a part (we cannot doubt) in the subsequent history of the Church. Human frailty has—externally at least—rent the "seamless robe" of Christian fellowship: human perversity has warped and twisted the teaching of the Apostles: human self-importance has presumed to "lord it" over the flock;[1] and human passion and fanatic zeal have wrought, from time to time, unspeakable atrocities in the name of Incarnate Love. But we must not hide from ourselves the fact that these tendencies, or many of them, had already begun to show themselves in the days when the New Testament was being written, and had indeed been expressly foretold by the Master before His Passion.[2]

The Human and the Divine.

Moreover the human element is (potentially) caught up into the Divine, in the glorified Son of Man, by Whom the Church has ever had unbroken sacramental access to the Father; albeit the vivid realisation of the opened heavens has become dimmed for many of us in the course of ages.

Sacramental intercourse with Heaven.

The Apostolic Age coruscates with wonders and signs: it is permeated with the liveliest consciousness of the Maker's unfailing presence. It recalls the very tones of His human voice and the look of His lineaments: it is thrilled and inspired by the fresh memory of His Pentecostal Advent and the earnest expectation of His proximate return as Judge and Consummator. Its spirit is fervent, joyous, ex-

The romance of the dawn.

[1] 1 Peter v. 3. [2] Cf., e.g., Matt. xxiv. 9 *sqq.*

pectant: its methods, its schemes, its ventures are whole-heartedly launched, yet of the character of that which is to be but temporary, provisional. The next age wears a different aspect, of necessity. The watch-word lately revived among us—"the evangelisation of the world in a single generation"—expresses a belief held very intensely at the moment when the Church began her career: a conviction possible and reasonable, because the known world was then so much smaller than it is to-day; and necessary, because it was very generally believed that the world would come to an end before the generation had passed away.[1] But the Church of the Early Fathers—of Ignatius and Polycarp and Irenaeus—of the period, in fact, when documents next become abundant—is a Church whose outlook is significantly modified: a Church which has become a permanent institution in the world, and has therefore, of necessity, stereotyped its outlines.

The "Light of Common Day."

This is as daylight to dawn. It lacks the glory, the glamour, the mystery. Objects are plainer to view, more clear-cut, more commonplace in aspect. The life has settled down to a more or less rhythmical routine, in which the sense of the marvellous largely effaces itself. But the same stupendous forces are at work in Nature at midday as at dawn, though their outward manifestation lack the variety and interest, the colour and the romance, that are peculiar to a moment of beginnings.

Continuous action of unseen forces.

So too is it with the Christian Church.

[1] Cf. John xxi. 21 *sqq.*

INDEX OF REFERENCES

	PAGE
Genesis	
xi. 1–9	40
Exodus	
xviii. 14–26	54
xxiii. 29, 30	36
xxxii. 19	295
Numbers	
xi. 25 *sqq.*	255
1 *Samuel*	
x. 5 *sqq.*	255
xix. 20 *sqq.*	255
2 *Chronicles*	
xxiv. 22	61
Psalms	
xvi. 8–11	42
xxii.	277
xxxi.	277
lxix.	277
lxxvi. 10	37
Isaiah	
x. 20–2	20
xx. 2	253
xxxvii. 4	20
xxxvii. 32	20
xlix. 2	36
lxvi. 1–2	55
Jeremiah	
xiii. 1–11	253
xxiii. 3	20
xxvi. 10 *sqq.*	60
xxvii. 2	253
xxxi. 7	20
Ezekiel	
xxvii., xxviii	209
Joel	
ii. 28–32	42
Amos	
ix. 11, 12	82
Malachi	
i. 11	93, 297
Wisdom of Solomon	
vii. 22 *sq.*, 26	275
1 *Maccabees*	
viii. 17 *sqq.*	193
xii. 1, 3	193
St. Matthew	
iii.	278
iv. 2	270
iv. 24	52
v. 1 *sqq.*	258
v. 13, 14	216, 221
v. 17	277
v. 17 *sqq.*	303
v. 20	301
v. 21 *sqq.*	215, 303
v. 22	301
v. 27	303
v. 27 *sqq.*	215
v. 29	301
v. 30	301
v. 33	303
v. 33 *sqq.*	215
v. 38	303
v. 43	303
v. 43 *sqq.*	215

St. Matthew	PAGE
vi. 1–18	258
vi. 3	303
vi. 6	303
vi. 9	303
vi. 16–18	270
vi. 17	303
vii. 29	276
viii. 5 *sqq.*	64
viii. 10 *sqq.*	64
viii. 11, 12	216
ix. 17	31
x. 34 *sqq.*	215, 301
xi. 19	215
xi. 20–4	301
xii. 36, 37	301
xiii. 24–31	258
xiii. 31	57
xiii. 39	304
xiii. 47–50	258
xvi. 18	21, 213
xvi. 19	258
xvi. 27	304
xvii. 24–7	214
xviii. 10	304
xviii. 17	243
xx. 23	304
xxi. 12	217
xxi. 33 *sqq.*	215
xxii. 1 *sqq.*	215, 276
xxii. 13	301
xxii. 15 *sqq.*	48
xxii. 21	213
xxii. 30	304
xxiii. 1–36	301
xxiii. 2	49
xxiii. 2, 3	214
xxiii. 3–36	48
xxiii. 35	275
xxiv., xxv	91
xxiv. 3 *sqq.*	304
xxiv. 15 *sqq.*	90
xxiv. 30	304
xxiv. 42	304
xxv. 13	304
xxvi. 3	217
xxvi. 26	258
xxvi. 53	304
xxvii. 11 *sqq.*	224
xxvii. 25	55
xxvii. 46	277
xxviii. 19	47, 213, 258, 253
xxviii. 20	29, 219

St. Mark	
i. 32–4	52
ii. 11	64
iv. 30 *sqq.*	313
v. 22 *sqq.*	243
v. 41	64
vi. 32–59	258
vi. 55–6	52
vii. 26 *sqq.*	64
ix. 42–8	304
xii. 28–34	29
xiii. 9 *sqq.*	214
xiii. 32	304
xiv. 55	48
xv. 1	48
xv. 3	48
xv. 11	48
xv. 21	59, 181, 199
xv. 34	277
xvi. 18	100, 253

St. Luke	
i. 1	280, 284
i. 3, 4	281
ii. 25	20
ii. 38	20
iii.	278
iv. 2	270
iv. 16–30	60
iv. 20	243
vii. 2 *sqq.*	64
viii. 49	243
ix. 5	135
x. 30 *sqq.*	276
xi. 51	275
xii. 16 *sqq.*	276
xiii. 14	243
xv. 8 *sqq.*	276
xv. 11 *sqq*	276
xvi. 22 *sqq.*	304
xviii. 9 *sqq.*	276
xviii. 12	271
xix. 10	215
xxiii. 2	225
xxiii. 34	61, 71

St. Luke PAGE

xxiii. 46 277
xxiv. 27 . . . 42, 278
xxiv. 44 . . . 42, 278
xxiv. 49 229
xxiv. 53 . . . 44, 47

St. John

i. 1 *sqq.* 8
i. 14 . . . 254, 312
i. 51 312
iii. 3 *sqq.* . . . 8, 258
iv. 2 261
v. 8 64
v. 39 278
vi. 15 213
vi. 27 *sqq.* . . . 8
vi. 33 *sqq.* . . . 267
xi. 42 217
xiii. 8, 9 81
xiv., xv., xvi . . 230, 300
xiv. 12 . . . 52, 254
xiv. 16–18 . . . 38
xiv. 26 38
xv. 2 35
xv. 26 38
xvi. 7–15 38
xvii. 15 . . . 213, 216
xviii. 36 213
xix. 11 215
xix. 12 225
xx. 21–3 242
xx. 22, 23 . . . 229, 258
xx. 31 281

Acts

i. 3 258
i. 8 . . 57, 211, 229, 247
i. 13 78
i. 15 . . . . 39, 41
i. 15 *sqq.* 231
i. 21 *sqq.* 235
i. 22 42
i. 24 236
ii. 39
ii. 4 255
ii. 5–11 40
ii. 9–11 52
ii. 9. . . . 126, 127
ii. 10 . . . . 59, 181

Acts PAGE

ii. 11 107
ii. 13 . . . . 40, 287
ii. 14 *sqq.* . . . 255, 278
ii. 36 40
ii. 37 *sqq.* 40
ii. 38 46
ii. 39 70
ii. 42 . . . . 263, 316
ii. 42 *sqq.* 42
ii. 43 . . . . 45, 232
ii. 44, 45 43
ii. 46 . . 44, 47, 263, 264
ii. 47 . . . 31, 48, 71
iii. 1 . . . . 44, 47
iii. 1 *sqq.* 45
iii. 1–10 50
iii. 11–26 50
iii. 11 50
iii. 12 *sqq.* 278
iii. 17 70
iii. 24 42
iii. 25 70
iii. 26 70
iv. 1 50
iv. 1–22 232
iv. 4 50
iv. 6 50
iv. 9 226
iv. 13–19 50
iv. 16 217
iv. 24–35 51
iv. 32–7 43
iv. 33 232
iv. 34, 35 43
iv. 36 43
iv. 37 . . . . 43, 51
v. 1 43
v. 4 43
v. 6 241
v. 10 241
v. 12–16 . . . . 51, 232
v. 20 *sqq.* 47
v. 27 *sqq.* 232
v. 28 217
v. 29 226
v. 34 49
vi. 1 *sqq.* 43
vi. 1–6 . . . . . 51, 232
vi. 1 . . 51, 54, 246, 249, 311

Acts	PAGE
vi. 1, 2	241
vi. 3–6	54
vi. 5	310
vi. 6	236
vi. 7	51, 60, 71
vi. 8	60
vi. 9	121, 181
vi. 11	60
vi. 13	60
vi. 14	60, 68
vi. 15	61
vii. 49–53	55
vii. 59–60	61
viii. 1	58, 232
viii. 4	58, 62
viii. 9–13	308
viii. 10	308
viii. 12–17	231
viii. 14 *sqq.*	261
viii. 18 *sqq.*	308
viii. 25	62
viii. 26	62
viii. 27	108
viii. 36, 37	260
viii. 40	62, 63
ix. 1, 2	56
ix. 1–31	63
ix. 2–14	55
ix. 30	121
ix. 32 *sqq.*	62
ix. 33–5	64
x.	62
x. 2	66, 73
x. 9 *sqq.*	72
x. 10	32
x. 15	65
x. 35	66
x. 44 *sqq.*	221, 230
x. 46	255
xi. 3	66, 72, 219
xi. 4 *sqq.*	72
xi. 15	230, 255
xi. 18	65
xi. 19	58, 62
xi. 20	51, 67, 77, 181
xi. 24, 25	121
xi. 27 *sqq.*	86
xi. 28	253
xi. 29	44, 311

Acts	PAGE
xi. 30	236
xii. 1–3	84
xii. 2	83, 234
xii. 3	83
xii. 7	83
xii. 20–3	84
xii. 25	283
xiii. 1	67, 181, 245
xiii. 1, 2	97
xiii. 3	236
xiii. 5	118
xiii. 7	118
xiii. 7, 8	72
xiii. 13	125
xiii. 14	271
xiii. 14–xiv. 23	124
xiii. 15	243
xiii. 16	66
xiii. 26	66
xiii. 33	133
xiii. 44	271
xiii. 45	73, 217
xiii. 46	72, 134, 174, 279
xiii. 49	134
xiii. 50	66, 73
xiv. 2	73
xiv. 5	73
xiv. 7	138
xiv. 11 *sqq.*	130, 256
xiv. 13	137
xiv. 19	73, 130
xiv. 23	233, 236
xiv. 25	125
xiv. 26 *sqq.*	75
xv.	3, 232, 235
xv. 1	26
xv. 1–29	58
xv. 5	71
xv. 6–29	79
xv. 10, 11	81
xv. 18–19	78
xv. 15 *sqq.*	82
xv. 21	82
xv. 23	117, 119
xv. 28	167
xv. 37–9	283
xv. 41	119, 120
xvi. 1–5	124, 137, 139
xvi. 3	80

Acts	PAGE
xvi. 5	139
xvi. 6	142, 162
xvi. 7	162
xvi. 9	175
xvi. 10	99
xvi. 10 *sqq.*	284
xvi. 13	166, 271
xvi. 15	221, 263
xvi. 19	218
xvi. 19 *sqq.*	129
xvi. 34	221
xvi. 37–9	227
xvii. 2	271
xvii. 4	66
xvii. 5	73, 169
xvii. 5–9	225
xvii. 13	73
xvii. 17	66
xvii. 34	170
xviii. 2	263
xviii. 4	176, 271
xviii. 6	73, 174
xviii. 7	176, 263
xviii. 8	175, 243
xviii. 9	175
xviii. 12 *sqq*	73, 224, 225
xviii. 17	243
xviii. 23	124, 129, 139
xviii. 24	181
xviii. 24–xix. 7	143
xviii. 27	176
xviii. 28	176
xix. 6	255
xix. 9	271
xix. 10	10, 146, 178
xix. 12	175
xix. 13–20	148, 218
xix. 22	241
xix. 23 *sqq.*	129, 218
xix. 31	145, 155, 244
xix. 35	145
xix. 35–41	149
xix. 38	147
xx. 2, 3	173, 268
xx. 3	73
xx. 4	138, 140
xx. 5 *sqq.*	284
xx. 5–12	159
xx. 7	268, 270

Acts	PAGE
xx. 7–11	265
xx. 17	236
xx. 18 *sqq.*	149, 268
xx. 22–35	85
xx. 28	236, 245
xx. 31	146
xxi. 8 *sqq.*	62, 63, 107
xxi. 10 *sqq.*	85
xxi. 11	253
xxi. 15–xxiii. 30	58
xxi. 17 *sqq.*	84, 86
xxi. 18	78, 232, 234
xxi 20	82
xxi. 20–6	86
xxi. 25	82
xxi. 27–xxviii. 16	87
xxi. 39	169
xxii. 3	49
xxii. 4	48
xxii. 18	175
xxii. 19	55
xxii. 20	56
xxii. 21	32
xxii. 25	227
xxiii. 6 *sqq.*	49
xxiv. 5	47
xxiv. 14	32, 47
xxiv. 17	311
xxiv. 22, 23	225
xxv. 8–11	227
xxv. 25	225
xxvi. 5	53
xxvi. 10	55, 56
xxvi. 11	55, 56
xxvi. 31	225
xxvii. 6	181
xxvii. 35	100
xxviii. 5–9	253
xxviii. 11	181
xxviii. 13, 14	192
xxviii. 14	193
xxviii. 17 *sqq.*	201
xxviii. 28	102
xxviii. 30	201

Romans	
i. 3	38
i. 8	200
iii. 2	278

Romans	PAGE
vi. 4 *sqq.*	261
vi. 17	301
xii. 14 *sqq.*	218
xiii. 1 *sqq.*	11, 202, 227
xiii. 4	262
xiii. 8 *sqq.*	218
xiv. 5	272
xv. 4	278
xv. 19	165
xv. 20 *sq.*	163, 184
xv. 24	11, 102, 180, 183
xv. 26	44
xv. 28	11, 102, 180, 183
xvi. 1	178
xvi. 1, 2	248
xvi. 7	198
xvi. 13	59, 181
xvi. 14	200, 288
xvi. 15	200
xvi. 21	96, 140
xvi. 22	140
xvi. 23	174, 177, 263

1 Corinthians	PAGE
i. 1	178
i. 14	174, 175
i. 16	174, 177, 221
i. 18 *sqq.*	316
i. 27, 28	176
ii. 3	174
ii. 3, 4	175
ii. 9	265
v. 3–6	233
v. 8 *sqq.*	271
v. 9 *sqq.*	177
v. 10	219
vi. 8	218
vi. 9–11	177
vi. 19	312
vii. 21 *sqq.*	222
vii. 22	176
viii. 4 *sqq.*	218
viii. 8	233
ix. 1	235
ix. 6	235
ix. 22	80
x. 14 *sqq.*	76
x. 16	266
x. 18–21	267

1 Corinthians	PAGE
x. 25 *sqq.*	80
xi. 3 *sqq.*	247
xi. 5	251
xi. 17	93
xi. 23–8	267
xi. 26	267
xi. 27 *sqq.*	266
xi. 33 *sqq.*	266
xi. 34	233
xii.	229
xii. 4	250
xii. 11, 12	233
xii. 26–30	233
xii. 28	235, 250
xiii. 1, 2	257
xiv.	255
xiv. 23	257
xiv. 26–30	233
xiv. 34 *sqq.*	247
xv.	258
xv. 3, 4	278
xv. 3–8	280
xv. 6	39
xv. 7	233
xvi. 1	44, 311
xvi. 2	159, 270
xvi. 15	174
xvi. 19	263

2 Corinthians	PAGE
i. 19	105
ii. 7–10	233
ii. 12	159
iii. 1	14
iii. 14	85
iii. 16	316
iv. 2	177
viii. 1 *sqq.*	44, 311
viii. 23	234, 250
ix. 1	44
xi. 9	174
xi. 13	250
xi. 14	301
xi. 23 *sqq.*	138, 285
xi. 24	135
xi. 25	138
xii. 1–4	175
xii. 12	175
xiii. 1, 2	233

Galatians PAGE

i. 1 *sqq.* 233
i. 6, 7 301
i. 16, 17 107
i. 18–ii. 10 74
i. 19 234
ii. 2 76
ii. 3 80
ii. 8, 9 235
ii. 9 . . 77, 78, 234
ii. 10 . . . . 44, 311
ii. 11 *sqq.* 3, 65, 73, 81, 219, 285
iii. 1 301
iii. 8 278
iii. 22 278
iii. 27 262
iii. 28 248
iv. 4 19
iv. 10 272
iv. 13 124
iv. 13–16 130
v. 12 301

Ephesians

ii. 14 123
iv. 11 *sqq.* . . 235, 250
iv. 24 263
v. 3 218
v. 22–3 . . . 221, 259
v. 22–vi. 9 . . . 221
vi. 5–9 222

Philippians

i. 1 . . . . 167, 237
i. 12–17 102
i. 25 102
ii. 25 . . . 234, 250
iii. 20 227
iv. 2 166
iv. 3 167
iv. 5 218
iv. 8 *sqq.* 218
iv. 15 174
iv. 18 166
iv. 22 102

Colossians

i. 13–20 306
i. 19 305
i. 26 305

Colossians PAGE

ii. 1 143
ii. 9 305
ii. 16 . . . 272, 305
ii. 18 305
ii. 21 305
iii. 5 218
iii. 10 262
iii. 11 222
iii. 18–iv. 1 222
iv. 10 283
iv. 13 . . . 106, 152
iv. 14 284
iv. 15 . . . 235, 263
iv. 16 . . . 10, 282
iv. 17 152

1 *Thessalonians*

i. 9 168
ii. 14–16 85
ii. 14 168
iii. 1–8 174
iv. 6 218
iv. 11, 12 218
iv. 13 *sqq.* 259
v. 12–14 245
v. 14 169
v. 15 218
v. 22 218

2 *Thessalonians*

i. 6 85
i. 8 85
i. 9 85
iii. 6 169
iii. 7 169

1 *Timothy*

i. 3 . . . . 103, 306
i. 4 307
i. 7 . . . . 301, 306
i. 18 251
i. 19 265
i. 20 305
ii. 1–3 227
iii. 233, 237
iii. 2, 3, 4, 5 . . . 264, 248
iii. 7, 8 246
iii. 11 . . . . 246, 248
iii. 16 265

1 *Timothy* PAGE

iv. 1–3 301
iv. 3 . . . . 306, 307
iv. 4, 5 312
iv. 6 280
iv. 13 282
iv. 14 . . . 236, 245, 251
iv. 16 280
v. 1–17 245
v. 4 249
v. 9, 10 249
v. 14 *sqq.* 220
v. 16 249
vi. 1, 2 . . . 221, 280
vi. 12 260
vi. 16 265
vi. 20 . 13, 280, 301, 307

2 *Timothy*

i. 5 137
i. 13 303
i. 13, 14 13
ii. 2 280
ii. 8 280
ii. 11 265
ii. 16–18 306
ii. 17 305
iii. 11 138
iii. 14 280
iii. 15, 16 278
iv. 6 227
iv. 8 103
iv. 10 . . 102, 165, 185
iv. 11 . . . 108, 284
iv. 13 103
iv. 14 305
iv. 16, 17 225
iv. 21 190

Titus

i. 5 . . . . 103, 233
i. 5 *sqq.* 237
i. 6–9 245
i. 9 303
i. 14 307
ii. 1, 2 303
iii. 1 *sqq.* 218
iii. 5 261
iii. 9–11 301
iii. 12 . . . 103, 165

Philemon PAGE

2 152
16 222
22 102
24 . . 108, 210, 283, 284

Hebrews

i. 3 275
iv. 12 275
vi. 2 11
xiii. 7 245
xiii. 10 11
xiii. 17 11

St. James

i. 5 81
ii. 2, 3 12
ii. 5, 6 311
iii. 13–18 81
v. 4 311
v. 14 *sqq.* . . . 12, 259

1 *St. Peter*

i. 10 *sqq* 278
ii. 6 *sqq.* 278
ii. 11, 12 226
ii. 13 218
ii. 13–17 226
ii. 15 226
ii. 18–iii. 7 221
ii. 20 226
iii. 1 247
iii. 9 *sqq.* 218
iii. 19–21 12
iii. 21 260
iii. 21, 22 262
iv. 6 12
iv. 16 . . . 12, 34, 226
v. 1–4 12
v. 2, 3 . . . 245, 246
v. 13 . . . 105, 108, 253

2 *St. Peter*

ii. 1 *sqq.* 12
ii. 2, 10, 13, 14 306
iii. 3 *sqq* . . . 12, 257
iii. 15, 16 . . . 12, 279

	PAGE
1 St. John	
i. 1	313
ii. 22	300, 308
iv. 1.	251
iv. 3	300, 308
2 St. John	
1	14
7 *sqq.*	150, 300
10, 11	14
3 St. John	
1	14
9	301
9 *sqq.*	149
12	14
St. Jude	
3	13, 280, 312
9	13, 275
12	266
14	13, 275
15	275
Revelation	
i. 9	209
i. 10	270
i. 11	154
ii., iii	15, 106, 154
ii. 2	251
ii. 6	54, 301, 310
ii. 8–11	154
ii. 9	158, 301, 307
ii. 10	36
ii. 12–17	156
ii. 13	123, 209, 285
ii. 14	306, 310
ii. 15	54, 301, 306, 310
ii. 18 *sqq.*	156
ii. 20	251
ii. 20 *sqq.*	301, 306
ii. 24	157, 305
iii. 1–6	157
iii. 7–13	158
iii. 9	158, 301
iii. 17	153
iii. 18	153
vi. 9–11	228
vi. 10	36
vii. 14	228
xi. 15	212, 228
xiii. 1 *sqq.*	228
xvi. 6	228
xvii. 5, 6	209
xvii. 7 *sqq.*	228
xvii. 14	228
xviii.	209
xix. 16	228
xxi. 5	278
xxi. 14	231

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

Abilius, 182
Achaia, 73, 99, 104, 107, 169–79
Acts of the Apostles: unity, authenticity, genuineness, 1; value as documents, 1, 4, 284 *sq.*; accuracy, 2, 82, 100, 118, 148, 169; graphic power of, 315 *sqq.*; limitations of, 4; plan and scope, 57 *sq.*, cf. 96, 211; Acts and Galatians, 3; Acts and Gospels, 6 *sqq.*; Acts and Pauline Epistles, 8 *sqq.*, 285. *See also* 18, 39, 42, 44, 78, 84, 96, 102, 123 *sqq.*, 130, 135, 158, 162, 173, 191, 193, 197, 231 *sqq.*, 240 *sq.*, 244, 255, 258, 263, 285 *sq.*
Aelia Capitolina, 94, 197
Aeneas, 63
Africa, North, 39, 108 *sq.*, 181
Agabus, 77
Agape, 264, 266–8
Agrippa. *See* Herod
Alban, St., 188
Alexander (bro. of Rufus), 59, 181
Alexander (heretic), 305
Alexander the Great, 25, 28, 144
Alexandria, 181–3, 191, 194
Amisus, 104
Amphipolis, 99, 159, 166
Ampliatus, 199
Anacletus, Anencletus, 205, 211, 292
Ananias and Sapphira, 43, 51
Ananias (High Priest), 89
Ancyra, 131
Andrew, St., 104, 107, 125, 163, 178, 289
Andronicus, 195, 198 *sq.*
Annas (High Priest), 87
Annianus, 182
Antioch (Syria): its place in the spread of Christianity, 67–9; its characteristics and mediatorial position, 113–17. *See also* 3, 54, 62, 65, 73, 75, 95, 96, 98, 105, 129, 139, 142, 165, 181, 194, 263, 285 n.
Antioch (Pisidia): its position and standing, 132 *sqq.*; evangelised by St. Paul, *ib.* *See also* 72, 98, 129, 131, 136, 138, 194, 217, 271
Antipas of Pergamus, 156, 209, 285 n.
Aphrodite, 177
Apocalypse, its authorship, 14, 106; its value as a document, 15, 285; on the Asiatic Churches, 149 *sqq.*; on Rome, 209 *sq.*, 228
Apocalyptic writings, 299
Apollonia, 99, 159, 166
Apollos, 59, 143, 176 *sq.*, 181, 255
Apostles, 47 *sqq.*, 61 and *passim*; their place in the ministry, 231 *sq.*; their functions, 233 *sqq.*, 245; a non-local ministry, 235
"Apostolic Fathers," the, 288 *sqq.*
Apostolic teaching, type of, 42
Appii Forum, 101, 192
Aquila and Prisca, 26, 127, 142 *sq.*, 173, 176, 195 *sq.*, 198 *sq.*, 210, 247
Arabia, 107
Aratus, 170
Archippus, 154
Aristarchus, 143, 147, 152

Aristides, 172
Aristion, 106, 122, 151, 289
Aristobulus, 200
Arles, 186 *sqq.*
Armenia, 117, 126, 165
Artemis, 144–6, 150
Ashdod, 62
Asia Minor, evangelisation of, 104 *sqq.*, 122–61. *See also* 59, 165
Asia, Province of, 141 *sqq.*, 285
Asia, Seven Churches of, 106, 154, 285
Asiarchs, 145, 155, 244
Astorga, 185
Asyncritus, 200
Athenodorus, 120, 169
Athens, 165, 169–72, 181
Attaleia, 125
Attalus I., 130
Attalus III., 141
Augustus, 24, 145, 158, 166, 184; cult of, 27, 123, 156, 209, 222–4, 227 *sq.*, 244
Aulus Plautius, 189, 202

"Babylon" (= Rome), 105, 209
Bacchylus, 179
Baptism, 46, 64 *sq.*, 174, 255, 259 *sqq.*, 267
Barnabas, St., 43, 51, 74, 96 *sq.*, 112, 114, 122, 137, 230, 234, 241, 256
Barnabas, Epistle of, 15, 90, 274, 288, 294 *sqq.*
Barsabbas, 289
Bartholomew, St., 105 *sq.*
Beroea, 99, 163, 165
Bishop, 236 *sqq.* *See* Ministry
Bithynia, 105, 126–9, 163, 167 *sq.*, 218, 247
Bito, Valerius, 207, 294
Britain, 188 *sqq.*
Burial, 259
Burrus, 201 *sq.*, 227
Byzantium, 104

Caesar, Appeal to, 164, 227
Caesar, Julius, 188, 193, 222
Caesarea, 62 *sqq.*, 107, 113, 313, 316
Caligula, 88, 228
Callistus, catacomb of, 202
Canon of N.T., formation of, 279 *sqq.*
Cappadocia, 105, 125 *sqq.*
Carthagena, 184
Cassian, 317 n.
Catacombs, witness of, 199, 202, 274
Cenchreae, 99, 163, 178, 248
Cerdon, 182
Cerinthus, 14, 150, 307 *sq.*
Church: perpetuates Incarnation, 19; meaning of name "Ecclesia," 21; primitive, at Jerusalem, 43 *sqq.*; its essential features, 46 *sqq.*, 316; its relation to Synagogue, 60, 242 *sqq.*, 264; crystallisation of institutions, 257 *sqq.*
Cicero, 155, 188, 193
Cilicia, 59, 110 *sqq.*, 120 *sqq.*
Circumcision, 73 *sq.*
Citizenship, 26 *sq.*, 164, 226 *sqq.*
Claudia, 190
Claudius (Emperor), 84, 115, 133, 194, 196, 200, 210, 223
Cleanthes, 170
Clement (Consul), 206 *sq.*, 292, 315
Clement (of Philippi), 167
Clement, St. (of Alexandria), 310
Clement, St. (of Rome), 92, 201 *sq.*, 207, 211; his letter to Corinth, 15, 177, 179, 183, 203 *sq.*, 265 *sq.*, 269, 282, 288, 291 *sqq.*, 315, 317
Clementine literature, 95, 112, 309
Cletus. *See* Anacletus
Colossae, 143, 147, 152, 305
Commune Asiae, 155, 244
"Communism" of primitive Church, 43, 44
Corinth, 99, 107, 163, 165, 172–9, 219 *sq.*, 255 *sqq.*, 268
Cornelius, 65–7, 72, 199, 255, 315
Crescens (companion of St. Paul), 185
Crescens (companion of St. Polycarp), 167
Crispus, 175 *sq.*
Croesus, 144

Cybele, 301
Cyprian, St., 184
Cyprus, 62, 67, 68
Cyrene, Cyrenaica, 67, 108, 181, 223

Dalmatia, 165, 185
Damas, 160
Damascus, 62
Deacon, Diaconate, 237, 241, 246
Deaconess, 247
Demetrius, 14
Demetrius (silversmith), 148
Derbê, 98, 138 *sq.*
Dialects, 256
Diana. *See* Artemis
"Diaspora" (Dispersion of Jews), 29, 53, 72
Didachê, 15, 93, 260, 265, 270 *sq.*, 274, 288, 296 *sqq.*
Dio Cassius, 17, 196
Dionysius (the Areopagite), 171
Dionysius (of Corinth), 177–9
Diotrephes, 14, 149, 154, 301
Docetism, 160 *sqq.*, 167, 307
Domitian, 141, 150, 156, 171, 182, 188, 205 *sqq.*, 209 *sq.*, 217, 225, 228, 292, 317
Domitilla, 206, 208, 292 *sq.*, 315
Domitilla, cemetery of, 199
Dorcas. *See* Tabitha

Easter, observance of, 271
Ebionites, 94, 311 *sq.*
Edessa, 107
Egypt, 165, 181 *sq.*
Eldad and Medad, 255
Elder, 242 *sqq.* *See* also Presbyter
Emperor-worship. *See* Augustus
Enoch, *Book of*, 13, 275
Epaenetus, 195, 198
Epaphras, Epaphroditus, 122, 147, 152, 166
Ephebus, Claudius, 207, 294
Ephesus, in first century, described 141–51. *See* also 97, 99, 100, 103, 106, 109, 129, 154 *sqq.*, 159 *sq.*, 163, 165, 175, 178, 218, 236 *sq.*, 241, 244, 255, 264, 310, 313
Episcopate, 171, 237 *sqq.* *See* also Ministry
Epistles, Catholic, their value as documents, 11–13, 285
Epistles, N.T., read in the churches, 282 *sq.*
Epistles, Pauline: include Pastoral Epistles, 8; their value as documents, 9–11, 285; referred to as "scripture" in 2 Pet., 13, 279
Erastus, 143, 147, 177, 241
Eschatology, 304 *sq.*
Ethiopia, 108
Eucharist, 8, 47, 160, 262 *sqq.*, 266 *sq.*, 297, 317
Eunice, 137
Euodia, 166
Euodius, 115 *sq.*
Eusebius, 15, 88, 90, 92 n., 95, 110 n., 114, 153, 157, 182 *sq.*, 188, 209 n., 238 n., 251 n., 269 n., 284, 287, 289, 292 n., 310 n.

Fasting, 271
Felix, 225
Festus, 87, 224 *sq.*
Friday, observance of, 271

Gaius (friend of St. John), 14
Gaius (of Derbê), 138, 143, 147
Gaius (of Corinth), 174
Galatia 123 *sq.*, 129 *sqq.*
Gallio, 164, 175, 224 *sq.*
Gamaliel, 2 n., 49, 52, 60, 169
Gaul, 185 *sqq.*, 223
Georgia, 117
Germany, 191
Glabrio, Acilius, 206, 315
Gnosticism, 14, 33, 150, 300, 302, 305, 307
Gospels, the Canonical: their bearing on the history of Apostolic Age, 5–8. *See also* 283 *sqq.*
Graecina. *See* Pomponia
Grecian. *See* Hellenist
Greece. *See* Achaia

Hadrian, 145, 172
Hands, laying on of, 62, 230 *sq.*
Healing, gifts of, 253 *sq.*

Hebrews, Epistle to: its value as a document, 11; its bearing on Christian worship, 23, 93; on O.T. and N.T., 295 *sq.*
Hebrews, Gospel according to, 95
Hegesippus, 15, 82, 88, 91, 179
Hellenism, 28 *sqq.*, 33, 53, 55, 151, 182
Hellenistic Greek, 24 *sqq.*, 277 *sq.*
Heresy: fruits of struggle with, 33, 34; modern attitude towards, 299; N. T. attitude, *ib. sqq.*; in Apostolic Age, 304 *sqq.*
Hermas, Shepherd of, 288
Hermas, 200
Hermes, 200
Herod the Great, 83, 118
Herod Agrippa I., 48, 83, 194, 200
Herod Agrippa II., 48, 84, 88, 90
Herodian, 200
Hierapolis, 107, 147, 152 *sqq.*, 160 *sq.*, 305
Hippolytus, 310
Hymenaeus, 305

Iconium, 98, 135 *sq.*, 221
Ignatius, St., 8, 151, 155, 158, 160 *sq.*, 237, 270, 288 *sq.*, 290 *sq.*, 302, 320
Illyricum, 165
India, 105 *sq.*
Irenaeus, St., 8, 9, 15, 92, 188, 191, 209, 270, 291, 302, 308, 310, 320
Isaiah, 253
Isaiah, martyrdom of, 275
Islam, 95, 312

James, St. (Bishop of Jerusalem), president of the Council, 78, 232; his attitude there, 81 *sqq.*; his martyrdom, 87; his apostolic status, 233, 234; his Epistle, 11, 81, 259, 285. *See also* pp. 73, 74, 91, 171
James, St. (son of Zebedee), 88, 183 *sq.*, 234
Jamnia, 63, 275
Jason, 168
Jeremiah, 60, 253
Jerome, St, 130, 317
Jerusalem, Council of, 73, 77–82
Jerusalem, Church in, 38–58, 69–95
Jerusalem, siege and destruction of, 44, 89 *sqq.*
Johannine writings, their value as documents, 13, 14
John, St., Apostle, 14, 74, 77 *sq.*, 106, 122, 150 *sqq.*, 208 *sqq.*, 231, 269, 307, 313, 317 *sq.*
John, "the Elder," 14, 106, 122, 150, 289
Joppa, 62 *sq.*
Joseph, St. (of Arimathea), 189
Josephus, 2, 16, 18, 84, 87 *sqq.*
Judaea, evangelisation of, 61, 62. *See also* 57, 83, 87,
Judaism, 22, 29, 31 *sqq.*, 73 *sqq.*, 98, 201, 217, 224, 274, 296, 305
Julia, 200
Julius Caesar. *See* Caesar.
Junias, 198
Justin Martyr, 140, 269 *sq.*, 279, 302, 309

"Laesa majestas," 175, 225
Laodicea, 143, 147, 152 *sqq.*, 305
Lazarus, 185, 187
Linus, 190, 211
Liturgy, 267, 282. *See* also Eucharist
Lois, 137
"Lord's Day," 270 *sqq.*
Lucian, 129
Lucina, catacomb of, 202
Lucius of Cyrene, 67, 96
Luke, St., writer of *Acts*, 1; his accuracy and trustworthiness, 2, 3, 4, 118, 148 *sq.*, 169; his connexion with Antioch, 110, 133; with Achaia (?), 179. *See also* 196, 277, 280, 315
Lycaonia, 97, 136 *sqq.*, 256
Lydda, 62 *sqq.*
Lydia (of Thyatira), 106, 156, 166, 247, 315
Lyons, 109, 187 *sq.*
Lystra, 98, 133, 137 *sq.*, 166

Macedonia, 162–9
Magi, 30, 109

Magic, 147 *sqq.*, 225, 218
Magnesia, 160
Marcus Aurelius, 171, 187
Mark, St., 142, 152, 181 *sq.*, 241
Marriage, 219 *sqq.*, 259
Marseilles, 25, 185 *sq.*
Martha, St., 185, 187
Martial, 190, 207
Mary, B.V.M., 150, 247
Mary, St. (of Bethany), 185, 189
Matthew, St., 103, 108, 289
Matthias, St., 103, 108
Melito, 157 *sq.*
Miletus, 141, 149
Ministry, Christian, 10, 11, 55, 161, 167, 229–51
Miracles, their place in the first days of the Church, 45 *sq.*, 51 *sq.*; their gradual diminution, 46, 319 *sq.*
Moral teaching of Christianity, 218 *sqq.*
Moses, Assumption of, 13, 275
"Muratorian Fragment," 183, 288
Mysteries, the, 25

Naples, 192
Neapolis (Macedonia), 99, 158, 166
"Narcissiani," 200
Nereus, 199, 200
Nero, 34, 200, 203, 210, 217, 225, 227
Nerva, 209
Nestor, 120, 169
N.T. Canon: its unique influence, 21, 273, 287; influenced by O.T., 274 *sqq.*; growth of, 278–83; survey of, 283–7; attested by Apostolic Fathers, 291
Nicanor, 54
Nicolaitans, 54, 149, 156, 301, 310 *sqq.*
Nicolaus, 54, 65, 310
Nicomedeia, 104
Nicopolis, 165
Numidia, 180
Nymphas, 154

Old Testament: leads up to N.T., 20 *sqq.*; influenced N.T., 274 *sq.*
Olympas, 200
Onesimus (slave), 152, 222
Onesimus (Bishop of Ephesus), 151
Onesiphorus, 135
Ophites, 311
Organisation, 229–51
Origen, 172, 191

Palmyra, 117
Pamphylia, 97, 124 *sq.*
Paphos, 97, 118 *sq.*
Papias, 14, 106, 151, 153, 289 *sq.*
Parables of Christ, 57, 215, 276
Parmenas, 54
Patrobas, 200
Patria potestas, 222
Paul, St.: his conversion, 56; Paul at Council of Jerusalem, 80, 82; his missionary labours, 97–103, 112–14, 118–21, 124 *sq.*, 129–39, 142–4, 158–60, 162–79, 183–6, 191, 192, 201 *sq.*; his conception of the Church, 32, 218 *sqq.*, 227, 240, 242, 244, 247, 249 *sq.*; conception of Apostolate, 233, 244–5; Judaistic antagonists, 74, 85, 95; martyrdom, 204 *sq.*; his letters, 8 *sqq.*, 13, 17, 194, 281 *sq.*, 285 and *passim*. *See also* pp. 1, 4, 5, 13, 19, 23, 26, 30, 32, 34, 49, 52, 58 *sq.*, 68, 84–7, 89, 105, 110, 115, 123, 189 *sq.*, 198 *sq.*, 200, 234 *sq.*, 255 *sq* , 261, 268, 271, 278
Pella, 90, 93, 224
Pentecost, Day of, 38 *sqq.*; Gift of, 40, 229 *sqq.*, 254 *sqq.*; results of, 41; pilgrims assembled at, 40, 53, 71 *sq.*; observance of, 271
Perga, 124 *sq.*
Pergamus, 123, 141, 147, 154, 155 *sq* , 310
Persecution, 33, 35 *sq* , 49 *sq.*, 55, 73, 155, 163, 187, 201, 217 *sqq.*
Persia, 108, 117
Peter, St.: his alleged antagonism to St. Paul, 3; his work at Jerusalem, 40 *sqq.*; his inconsistency at Antioch, 3, 81, 151;

his "shadow," 51; his tour in Palestine, 63 *sqq.*, 264; conversion of Cornelius, 65–7, 72, 73; Peter at Council of Jerusalem, 81; his connexion with Antioch, 114 *sqq.*; with Corinth (?), 177; with Rome, 195–8; his martyrdom, 204 *sq.* *See also* 32, 74, 77, 79, 80 *sq.*, 182, 231, 260 *sq.*, 293, 300
Peter, 1st Epistle of: its date, 12; its value as document, *ib.*; its "Pauline" tone, 81; to whom addressed, 105, 126 *sqq.* *See also* 167, 225, 285
Peter, 2nd Epistle of: its doubtful authorship, 12, 279
Petronilla, 208
Pharisees: their attitude to the Christians, 48 *sq.*; converted Pharisees reactionary, 69, 71. *See also* 87, 170, 214, 217, 295 *sq.*
Philadelphia, 147, 155, 158
Philemon, 152, 222
Philetus, 305
Philip, St. (Apostle): his traditional sphere of work, 107; settles at Hierapolis, 107, 153; at Athens (?), 163; in Gaul (?), 189
Philip, St. (Evangelist): one of Seven, 44, 54, 241; his work in Samaria, 62, 264, 308; elsewhere, 63, 107, 259; settles with daughters, at Tralles, 107, 153, 161
Philippi, 99, 107, 163 *sq.*, 166 *sq.*
Phlegon, 200
Phoebe, 178, 248 *sq.*
Phoenicia, 67, 112 *sq.*
Phrygians, 130 *sq.*, 137 *sq.*
Pilate, Pontius, 55, 83, 203, 213 *sq.*, 224
Pliny, 17, 128 *sq.*, 146, 167, 207, 218, 247, 268 *sq.*
Polybius, 161
Polycarp, St., 15, 17, 155, 167, 201, 290 *sq.*, 320
Pompeii, 192
Pompey, 40, 193
Pomponia Graecina, 189, 202, 206, 315
Pontus, 105, 126 *sq.*
Poppaea, 194, 201
Pothinus, 188
Preparation in history for the Church, 19 *sqq.*; the Jews, 20–3; the Greeks, 24, 25; the Romans, 25–8; interwoven threads, 28 *sqq.*
Presbyter, Presbyterate, 76, 78, 85 *sq.*, 139, 236 *sqq.*, 242 *sqq.*, 245 *sq.*
Priest, Priesthood. *See* Presbyter
Priests, Aaronic: converted to Christianity, 51, 60, 71
Prisca, Priscilla, 247, 315. *See also* Aquila
Prochorus, 54
Prophets, N.T., 236, 251, 253
Proselytes, 64 *sq.*
Ptolemais, 112
Publius, 171
Pudens, Pudentinus, 190
Puteoli, 101, 191

Quadratus (apologist), 172
Quadratus (Bishop), 171

Roman Church, 100 *sq.*, 193–212
Rome: its part in the preparation for the Church, 25 *sqq.*; "Pax Romana," 26; unification, 27; religious policy, *ib.*; emperor-worship, 35, 128 (*see* Augustus); Rome as "Babylon," 105, 209
Rufus (of Bithynia ?), 167
Rufus (brother of Alexander), 59, 181, 199

Sabbath observance, 271 *sqq.*
Sacramental teaching of N.T., 46 *sq.*, 178, 229, 251 *sqq.*, 258–69
Sadducees: irreligious spirit of, 29, 48; their persecution of the Apostles, 49 *sq.*, 2 6 *sq.*
Salamis, 97, 118
Samaria, 62 *sq.*, 72, 264, 308
Sanhedrin, 50, 52, 60, 61, 88, 226

Saragossa, 185
Sardica, 192
Sardis, 157 *sqq.*
"Scripture," 278 *sqq.*
Scythia, 104
Seleucia, 97, 111
Seneca, 175, 194, 202, 227
Sergius Paulus, 72, 119, 199
Seven, the, 53 *sqq.*, 72, 241 *sqq.*
"Seven Churches." *See* Asia
Sibyl, 255
Sidê, 125
Sidon, 112
Silas, Silvanus, 98, 105, 107, 126 *sq.*, 163, 169, 174
Simon Magus, 62, 300, 308 *sqq.*
Sinope, 104
Sirmium, 192
Slavery, 222
Smyrna, 147, 154 *sqq.*
Sosthenes, 175
Spain, 11, 102, 180, 183 *sqq.*
Spirit, the Holy, *see* esp. 38 *sqq.*, 65 *sq.*, 229 *sqq.*, 252 *sqq.*
Stephanas, 177, 294
Stephen, St.: his preaching, 55, 60, 68, 72, 241; his martyrdom, 55, 61; results of his martyrdom, 55, 56, 61, 72
Stoics, 120, 169 *sq.*, 194
Suetonius, 16, 196, 197, 224
Symeon (son of Clopas), 91
Symeon Niger, 96
Synagogues (Jewish), 29, 60, 242 *sqq.*, 264; (Christian), 263
"Synagogue of Satan," 155, 301
Syntyche, 166
Synzygus, 167
Syracuse, 191
Syria, 67, 110–18, 165

Tabitha, 64, 315
Tacitus, 16, 17, 28, 153, 194, 203 *sqq.*, 207
Tarraco, Tarragona, 102, 184 *sq.*, 186
Tarsus, 120, 125, 169, 181
Teaching of Christ, 214 *sqq.*, 276 *sq.*
"Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." *See Didachê*
Temple, The, 44, 60, 70, 90, 263 *sqq.*, 295
Tertullian, 208
Thaddaeus, St., 104, 108
Thekla, 126, 135, 220
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 239, 244
Thessalonica, 99, 107, 159, 163 *sqq.*, 168 *sq.*, 304
"Third Race," 226
Thomas, St., 108
Thrace, 104
Thyatira, 106, 154, 156 *sq.*, 166
Tiberius, 193, 203, 223
Tigellinus, 202
Timon, 54
Timothy, St., 16, 80, 122, 143, 147, 169, 174, 241, 245, 249, 260, 301
Titus (Emperor), 205, 224
Titus Justus, 99, 176, 264
Titus, St., 16, 80, 122, 159, 165, 185
Tongues, gift of, 253 *sqq.*
Trajan, 182, 209, 217, 225, 318
Tralles, 107, 153, 160
Travelling facilities, 25 *sqq.*, 166, 173, 199; *cf.* 100 *sqq.*, 132, 135 141, 158 *sqq.*
Tres Tabernae, 192
Trimithus, 118
Troas, 98, 103, 158 *sq.*, 162, 265, 268, 270, 317
Trophimus, 122, 187
Tryphaena, 135
Tychicus, 122
Tyrannus, school of, 146, 264
Tyre, 112 *sq.*

Valens, 167
Vespasian, 205, 295
Via Aurelia, 186
Via Egnatia, 159, 166
Vienne, 109, 185, 187 *sq.*
Vested interests assailed, 129 n., 148, 163, 217 *sq.*

Widows, 53, 248
Women, prominent, 134, 247
World and the Church, 213 *sqq.*

Zechariah, 61
Zosimus, 167

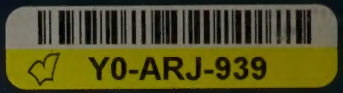
225.96Q
R126
C.1

116139

Ragg, L.
The church of the
apostles

225.96Q
R126
C.1

116139


Y0-ARJ-939